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ABSTRACT

This book contains papers, reports, and welcoming speeches from a seminar for European adult education researchers. The following are included: "Background and Thematic Outline for the ESREA (European Society for Research on the Education of Adults) Seminar on Research into Adult Education and the Labor Market" (Olesen); "Welcoming Speech" (Puhar); "Qualification and Work: Basic Concepts and Danish Research" (Olesen); "Labour Market and Adult Education in Slovenia" (Klenovsek); "Report from the Workshop on 'Qualification and Work Process Research'" (Jowitt); "Trends in Employer Funded Training as an Indicator of Changes in Employment" (Gooderham, Hines); "General Qualification in Danish Adult Vocational Training Programmes" (Illeris, Andersen); "The Relationship between Work and the Learning Process in Adult Education" (Hoyrup, Scavenius); "Human Resource Development, Learning and Structural Transition in Working Life" (Kjellberg); "Report from the Workshop on 'Labour Market Policy, (Un)employment and Adult Education'" (Forrester); "Lifelong Learning and Trade Unions: Notes on a Collaborative Research Project" (Forrester); "Education and Training of Work Force and Mobility in the Slovenian Labour Market" (Ivancic); "Qualifying Adult Women for Employment" (Olesen); "Consequences of a Society without Housewives: Young People and Their Relation to the Labour Market" (Simonsen); "Adult Education and Working People: A Critical Reappraisal" (Law); "The Needs for Adult Education in Slovenia" (Spolar); "Report from the Workshop on 'Instruction Methods, Concepts of Teaching, and Teacher Qualification'" (Ivancic); "The Learning Company and Employee Personal Development Schemes" (Jowitt); "Self-Directed Learning in a Work Context" (Larsson); and "How to Bridge the Gap between Education, Work and Life History?" (Meijers). Participants' addresses are included. (KC)

ED 377 302

ESREA

European Society for Research on the Education of Adults

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Ljubljana, October 10th - 12th 1993

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ESREA

European Society for Research on the Education of Adults

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Slovene Adult Education Centre
Andragoški center Republike Slovenije
Ljubljana, 1994

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PREFACE

From 10th to 12th October 1993, an international seminar of the ESREA organisation entitled "Adult Education and the Labour Market" was held in Ljubljana. ESREA is the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults and is based in Leiden in The Netherlands. Within the ESREA, there are several research networks organised around thematically linked adult education research (there are currently 6 networks operating). One of these networks has the title "Adult Education and the Labour Market". A meeting of researchers working in this field was held in Ljubljana in October 1993. On the part of the host nation Slovenia, the organisation was done by the Slovene Adult Education Centre, represented by Tanja Vilič Klenovšek. Representing the ESREA organisation was Dr Henning Salling Olesen, from the Roskilde University Centre, Adult Education Research Group.

The organisation of the seminar was co-financed by the Slovenian Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Science and Technology.

17 researchers from European countries and one from New Zealand participated in the seminar. The work of the seminar took place in four working groups. The variety of presentations and discussions demonstrates the range and wealth of research and professional-development work in this field. To make the varied and similar experiences accessible to the widest possible professional circles, we agreed to collect the contributions and publish them in the form of conference proceedings. This was done by the Slovene Adult Education Centre.

The conference proceedings were divided into the following headings:

- Background and Thematic Outline for the ESREA Seminar on Research into Adult Education and Labour Market

0. Introductory presentations:

  - Welcoming speech by Mrs. Jožica Puhar, Minister for Labour, Family and Social Affairs
  - Introductory papers from Henning Salling Olesen and Tanja Vilič Klenovšek

I. Report and papers of the 1st workshop
II. Report and papers of the 2nd workshop
III. Report of the 3rd workshop
IV. Papers of the 4th workshop
V. Addresses of the authors of papers and of the participants of the Seminar

To fulfil our goal of reporting the first Seminar in a network, the papers have been printed unedited, in the form the authors given them. Next to the name of each author is the organisation where they are employed, so that the reader can obtain further information direct from the author of the paper.

Pleasant reading!

Henning Salling Olesen

Tanja Vilič Klenovšek

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BACKGROUND AND THEMATIC OUTLINE FOR THE ESREA SEMINAR ON RESEARCH INTO ADULT EDUCATION AND LABOUR MARKET

In spite of the very different traditions and structures of adult and continuing education in the European countries, it seems to be a common tendency that the relation between adult education with some direct relation to work and labour market is becoming very important. Continuing education with a direct aim of work qualification, carreer and labour market effects is in many countries the fastest growing area of adult education. Companies, public employers and labour market organizations play an increasing role in defining and organizing adult education in several countries. And in liberal and general adult education, the reference to labour market and work seems to play an increasing role. This is also true in countries, where these sectors have been strong and have had their own life separated from work life, referring much more to cultural and private spheres.

New groups of learners are becoming active in adult and continuing education. Along with new aims and new institutions it means a vast expansion in the possible and desirable study area of adult education research. Furthermore these developments do reshape the whole material and conceptual framework of adult and continuing education. So not oly do they add new fields of study and interest, to the well-known ones; they also present a challenging need to rethink the purposes, the societal functions and the basic concepts of adult and continuing education.

In ESREA there is an identified interest in forming a network within this field - partly in order to connect and learn from the each other in relation to the development in the practical adult and continuing education, partly in order to start a "cultivating process" for a new and expanding area of research.

The seminar is called on this multiple background. The rather broad and vague headline thus includes various and in some cases maybe contradictory elements, not defined in a systematic way, according to one criterion, or mutually exclusive. They are based on ourressions of where areas of interest are focused, and where one can expect contributions of previous or ongoing research. As it is a relatively new and still unknown and uncultivated area, developing very differently in different countries, we think there is a need for a broad seminar, with several subthemes. It will give us the possibility to experience how these developments are different, related to historical, societal and cultural backgrounds, and hopefully it will enable us also to "sort out" fields of common interest and clear the situation for a network, or may be more than one network.

Each of the themes proposed below may in practical terms be the headline of a work shop during the conference, depending on the interests announced in the registration.

The themes proposed are of course to some extent "geo-centric" - we must correct and complete this on the background of all contributions and participants. I have chosen to make them in a problem oriented manner, trying to outline themes, that may be interesting from several points of view, with reference to different disciplines, and open to empirical research as well as theoretical research. Each theme may imply f.i. pedagogical, sociological, economical, psychological as well as interdisciplinary approaches

It may turn out, that some theoretical or methodological discussions do not fit into this - please indicate that in your response, and we will try to take care of that in the work shop organization.

1. Qualification and work process research

The development of work processes and its relation to education and training is one large area of study. It may include studies in specific trends in technology, work organization, and division of labour, sectoral changes, and the role of knowledge and skills. It may relate such trends more directly to training, formal and informal education or to other learning processes. Education and training in the workplace, and the role of employers in training and education should be included in this theme. It may also include mainly theoretical studies in the societal and subjective status of education and learning, and its relation to work.

2. Labour market policy, (un)employment and adult education

An area of strong practical interest is adult and continuing education, that is initiated to contribute to major structural changes in the labour market or to improve employment for specific target groups. E.g. such initiatives may deal with women's situation in the labour market, support for work migrants and refugees in relation to labour market, etc. A central issue in almost all countries is the access problem, recruiting the groups in the population most alien to education.

In most countries such initiatives are an integral part of labour market policy in a period with high unemployment rates. But it is very controversial what types of training and education is the most reasonable, and what outcome is to be expected. Specially the relative relevance and the relation between vocational training and general and cultural education is discussed.

Also, this type of adult education and training, raises a number of pedagocial questions about the importance of the setting and the situation of the participants. In economic and social modernization processes all over Europe, adult education and training could be a very important factor, in a range from alfabetization to vocational training and education supporting major sectoral shifts in the economy, following the introduction of market economy etc.

3. Instruction methods, concepts of teaching, and teacher qualification

The introduction of a labour market perspective and/or teaching and learning in a labour related context has led to the development of new instruction methods, partly under the influence of the surrounding industrial culture, partly as a response to new target groups. All the problems mentioned under 2 about the new and disadvantaged groups of learners also have aspects relating to teaching.

Many traditional types of continuing education and training have experienced new developments through the meeting between the concepts of learning, inherited in their institutions and organizations, and the labour market relations. Studies may throw light on a substantial change in institutional cultures in adult education.

Similarly, teachers in continuing education have (had to) develop(ed) new qualifications, and very large new groups of teachers and instructors have been mobilized. Very often the teacher training has the form of re-training, or of providing and additional qualification to people, whose professional background and basic education is in another area. These types of teacher qualification present new experiences in teacher training. The professional identity and selfdefinition of teachers presents new and interesting aspects in adult and continuing education related to labour market.

4. Professionalism and carreer studies

Although a main emphasis may be put on education and training relating to "the ordinary adult learners" and on the basic levels of education, the relation to labour market also presents the problems of vocational education in a new way, which must be regarded an integrated element in adult education research.

Studies in professionalization and professionalism typically deal with liberal professions or at least specialized and well educated groups. However, societal developments mean that a very large proportion of the total work force are becoming professionals or semi-professionals. So the sociological and pedagogical questions connected with professions are becoming relevant to a large proportion of adult learners.

The boundaries between carreer related, job related and general/personal motives for participating in adult and continuing education are becoming much less clear, partly because the relevance of an education activity may apply to both, and partly because more individuals tend to develop a personal relation to work and qualification, which is the one traditionally connected with professionalism: Integration of vocational qualification into personal identity, organizing life course in relation to professional carreer etc.

The field of course overlaps with the qualification as well as the labour market policy themes, but presents a specific theme because it focuses the individual and biographical point of view.

5. Trade unions and trade union education

In most countries the trade unions have their own educational acitivities, ranging from general political enlightenment to specific training of shop stewards and organisational staff. Though the volume and institutional framing of these acitivities is very different from country to country, it may be subject to research as an independent adult education sector, directly connected to labour market. Such studies might deal with specific pedagogical experiences from shop steward teaching, recruitment etc.

In a wider sense, trade unions are an important organizational factor influencing adult and continuing education, and relating it to the labour market. Studies dealing with the function of the trade unions, their policies in adult and continuing education might be discussed here. Also studies in development of trade unions and their responses to general economic and social changes in society might occur.

6. Working class culture and workers' enlightenment

The strategy of popular enlightenment of the labour movement comprises a specific branch of traditional adult education. It is, in a sense, a broader and more culturally oriented type of adult education than the ones more directly related to work, qualification, or TU.

It is, however, defined by the perspective of the worker, relating to his/her specific experience and situation. And so it is in its own complex way related to and dependent on the development of the labour market.

Traditional working class culture is the fundament of the educational strategy. So one central issue concerns its establishment and possible current dissolution. Studies concerning the cultural values and every-day life of working class people may thus contribute to this theme, as may studies of generation and gender in relation to adult education.

Another issue concerns the organization and contents of the workers' enlightenment, and its relation to other areas of adult and continuing education.

A third issue concerns the basic conceptualization of politics and learning within the labour movement. Especially, the relation to new social movements, new political priorities like ecology, global issues like that of sustainability, or peace politics. These issues are currently worked with in contexts of more direct democratic procedures than that of the representative bodies of the labour movement.

0.

INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATIONS

WELCOMING SPEECH

Respected delegates, organisers and especially those of you from other countries who have taken this opportunity to visit Slovenia, please allow me, at the start of your professional meeting, to extend my warmest greetings and my hopes for the success of your work. I also wish you a pleasant stay in Ljubljana.

I would like to thank the organisers for providing me with this opportunity to make my own small contribution to the mosaic of issues surrounding retraining the unemployed. With your cooperation, I too am directly testing the adequacy of our approaches and concepts in this field. For me, this is particularly important, not only as the minister responsible for the labour market, but also as a professional from the field of organisation, personnel and employment, since I am heavily involved in measures regarding the labour market and its possibilities and effectiveness. In this field, the retraining and employment of unemployed and redundant workers has an extraordinary importance, if not the central role.

The situation on the labour market has altered fundamentally in Slovenia in the last three years. We are witnessing a marked fall in the number of jobs available and a consequent reduction in employment. We have lost over 200,000 jobs, mainly in the publicly owned commercial sector. As a second manifestation of this phenomenon, we have seen an extraordinary increase and rapid growth in unemployment, from an average of 15,000 in 1989 to 130,000 this year. This figure represents 14.5% of the active population, while the figure for actual unemployment, measured using the methodology of the International Labour Organisation, is close to 10%. We are encountering unemployment because of a lack of demand, which is slowly becoming marked structural unemployment. This transition will become even more noticeable in 1994 and the next few years, since renewed economic growth will bring with it new jobs. The requirements and contents of these jobs will differ from the knowledge and qualifications of the workers about to be made redundant, and also redundant workers in existing commercial companies. It will not be possible to meet the needs of the economy with these workers without providing further training. The gap between the problems of the unemployed and the problems of those seeking new staff will widen.

In Slovenia, through the Laws on Employment and on Unemployment Benefit and in the practice of implementing them, we have introduced all sorts of measures of a so-called active employment policy. Through these we have in the last three years succeeded in creating new jobs - including through cofinancing - and have prevented the emergence of unemployment in those programmes which had a market and a future, so that it was necessary only to bridge temporary difficulties. We adapted the knowledge of the workers, at least within the framework and at the level of the programmes which, in this period, we managed to adapt - supplementary or wholly new training. We also established a professional institution to develop methodologies for adult education - the Slovene Adult Education Centre, the organiser of this meeting - which has already successfully completed its task. We have introduced a variety of measures for adapting qualifications and knowledge and for employing handicapped people and others with limitations on their ability to work. It is interesting to note that, in this period, we have moved on from training or educating for known employers or known jobs to numerous programmes aimed at increasing the competitiveness of candidates on the labour market.

Of course, not all the measures we have introduced have succeeded in reversing the trends in employment and unemployment, which of course depend on the objective conditions in which Slovenia finds herself and on the implementation of appropriate measures in other areas, especially in individual aspects of economic policy. On the basis of economic results so far this year, we feel that these measures will work to bring about a basic economic turn around. This will in turn lead to growth in GDP, which has been falling for three years. Consequently other economic indicators will record positive growth - industrial output, exports. These are linked to a presence on foreign markets, productivity, etc.

Because of the appearance of structural unemployment, we can count on the fact that there will be a highly important spread of different forms of education and training for the unemployed, and of course, from the viewpoint of this meeting, highly important exchanges of experience, working methods, information on the most appropriate programmes, methods and the like.

I therefore wish you success in your work. At the next meeting, we will have the opportunity to verify the results we each achieve in our own fields.

Jožica Puhar
Minister for Labour, Family and Social Affairs
Slovenia

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Denmark

QUALIFICATION AND WORK
BASIC CONCEPTS AND DANISH RESEARCH

This paper is meant to open a discussion of the relevance and content of the concept of **qualification** *in adult education research. As a background I shall present different lines of research in Denmark in (adult) education research, that refer to the concept in a quite different way, emphasizing the functional and the critical aspects of the concept in the context. On this background I shall discuss definitions of the concept, and the interpretation of the concept of work included in them. Finally I shall present some of the ideas of our present research, that are responding to some of the dilemmas and problems in previous research, leaving the presentation of concrete projects to be done later.*

Background

One line of research goes back to the great educational optimism of the 60'es, and the new left criticism. In Denmark the pedagogical thinking was formed by **anti-authoritarian pedagogics and by humanistic development psychology** (Eriksson, Berlyne) and Piaget, forming an individualized, libertarian and very optimistic professional ideology of schools. One first questioning of this optimism came from positivistic sociology, proving that the strive for educational equality in the welfare state was failing. This led into an enrichment in pedagogical thinking by socialization research, including aspects of class, culture and gender differences, that today seems evident.

A much more radical questioning, came from the reconstruction of marxist theory, defining the role of school and education, as that of **qualifying for wage labour**. Defining this qualification in the structure of wage labour, it defines two aspects of learning: Achieving skills, that are in their form adequate for fulfilling specific tasks, defined overall by capitalist development of production, and at the same time being disciplined to adapt to more or less inhuman work conditions, and in general to accept and adapt to societal order (**negative** or **intensity** qualification).

On this ground a critical reflection of all types of pedagogical questions, of teaching, of functions and contents of single subjects and etc. was added a new dimension to education.

On the one side the concept of qualification provided a framework for a didactic reflection on the relation between education and **work** - especially influential in vocational education and training. On the other side the traditional dualism between "individual" and "society" was reformulated into a **subordination of individual under (capitalist) society by education**. However, it might sometimes tend to become a simplistic image, projecting the societal order of capitalism into the phenomenal form of industrial work - reducing very much the concrete skills, and giving a true, but extreme, image of the so called negative qualifications, like tolerance to repression, discipline, routine etc. This simplism curtails the understanding of the division of labour and the development of new areas of wage labour, that definitely need not only further skills, but also a high level of "positive work identity", like services and social care. In a marxian sense, the research tends to exclude the objective necessity of the worker's subjectivity as a work qualification.

Not only pedagogical and didactic research was stimulated by this marxian framework - also a lot of research into education policy and planning, including all major school reforms, were analyzed and criticized on this background - sometimes very roughly, reducing complex phenomena into illustrations of general laws, in other cases with more sense for contradictions.

Some of the basic assumptions of this marxian inspiration are now accepted background knowledge in education - although at the same time their constitutive connection with a critique of the political economy of capitalism tend to be forgotten.

Another, and quite different line of research, applies theory and methods from industrial sociology in research into the relation between work and education. One inspiration was the attempts to "go empirical", inspired by a marxian tradition, like f.i. the well known research H. Kern and M. Schumann. Another was the needs of public authorities, trade unions etc. to establish a scientifically based ground for planning and decision making in training, vocational education, continuing education etc. On the basis of an everyday language meaning of the concept "qualification", meaning acquired skills for work, a "social technology" developed. Empirical research was carried out into phenomenal development of work processes, and qualification needs were deducted from this.

This research has different approaches, depending on the reasons for the individual research project.

A large stream is concerned with "technological changes" and the consecutive needs for qualification, or the demands to serve one special new technology.

Some are focused on a specific type of skilled work, and its applicability (f.i. on behalf of a trade union).

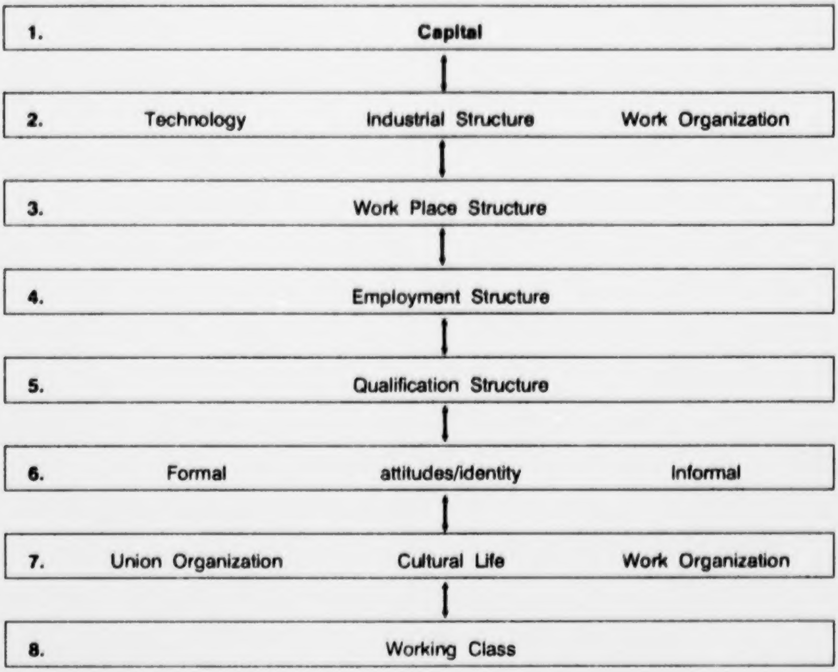
Some investigate from the point of view of one special type of education the developments needed to adapt to changes in work and technology.

Some look upon the consequences of major structural changes in work force, like the growth of the service sectors.

Examples from Danish empirical research

This line of research has produced a lot of very useful empirical knowledge about work processes, and in some cases also - overloading the empirical paradigm a bit - emphasized the alternatives open to future development. By the concept of qualification it has made clear, that the development of societal production has direct consequences for human labour - or rests on certain preconditions: A historical and more comprehensive understanding of technology and work.

Mainly this type of research is assumed to provide an empirical background for implementation of education. This is a very problematic assumption not only because it so to say neglects all "technical" problems of how to produce a specified qualification. But also because it assumes that educational goals and means **should** be derived from the development in the work process alone. This objectivistic definition of qualification needs is uncritical in so far as it does not question the economic and societal order, and often assumes a unilinearity in work process development, leading to a demand for subordination of the individual worker under the demands of the "development". Extending Janossys concept of the labour market adaptation mechanism one might describe this paradigm in a scheme like this with a one way determination presumed:


1. **Capital**
2. Technology Industrial Structure Work Organization
3. Work Place Structure
4. Employment Structure
5. Qualification Structure
6. Formal attitudes/identity Informal
7. Union Organization Cultural Life Work Organization
8. Working Class

Similar types of research has been carried out on the possibility of substituting different kinds of qualification, either on a company level, smoothing restructuration of the companies, or on a regional level, analyzing bottle necks in the labour market and/or possibilities of improving employment through new industrial initiatives.

General qualification

Today a merge of the two types of discussion can be observed. In the industrial sociology research a tendency towards general qualification is observed in industry and in society in general. This also includes the types of negative qualification, included in the marxian critical use of the concept. For this reason a discussion about the concept has gained a new theoretical as well as practical importance.

Our present qualification research project is concerned with **general qualification** in relation to training and continuing education for industrial workers (see description in Andersen/Illeris). On the described background it deals with the **qualifying processes**. Education and training are of course assumed to be important settings for such processes, but we work with a broader concept of learning, including everyday life learning.

The appreciating and critical remarks above about different concepts of qualification and their findings have been summarized in a provisional definition of qualification - which is then immediately open to some new questions raised by some other findings and by certain societal developments.

We are distinguishing between:
competence or **capacities**: all acquired skills and knowledges, that a person has, even if it is not utilized - and:
qualification: all competence/capacities necessary or relevant for carrying out societal work.

Competence/capacities are subjective entities, acquired and activated within the context of an individual person. They are also qualifications in so far as they are relevant to societal work. Qualification is a societal and structural definition, a result of real history, and mediated by division of labour, actual economic relations and subjective (cultural and individual) factors, that influence work.

The empirical research in work qualification, in searching for one-to-one specification of demands on labour, tends to find an increasing importance of **general qualification** of different kinds:

- basic technical skills rather than specific ones,
- basic knowledge, cultural techniques (foreign language f.i),
- intellectual skills, that are basic and developed over a long period of time,
- certain attitudes like responsibility, flexibility, cooperative etc.- social skills, that tend to be personal characteristics.

Obviously qualification consists of and depends on mobilizing (personal) competencies/capacities in an ever increasing way. The demand for **subjectivity** is becoming more and more obvious in practical life, and also in research, in spite of the research interest and the basic conception of qualification needs of this industrial sociology approach. A contradiction coming from a real contradiction in industrial development in the post-taylor era.

The marxian critical concept of qualification introduces a "negative qualification" which is seen as an enforced or even distorted human competence/capacity, that is **only** relevant because of capitalist economy as a destruction of individual subjectivity. It's not so simple - the historical acquisition of basic social abilities have a much more double character, as can be seen obviously by craftsmen or by women working with social care. Its concrete aspects seem to be partly the same as the needs for social skills found by industrial sociology.

Reflecting a historical difference between taylorism and post-taylorism, and the changed way of utilizing human labour, it must be regarded as the same. The societal field of conflict between labour and capital is projected into the category of **general qualification** in different forms. The ever inclining importance of general qualification may - and must - on the one side be seen as increasing societal appreciation of human competence/capacities, promoting education and humanization of work - on the other side it situates fundamental societal conflicts in the individual handling of work and even the personal development of work qualification.

The subjective perspective

As a critical opposition to the objectivistic approach, inherent in both empirical industrial sociology and in marxian critical theory, we need a concept of human labour as a subject, whose competencies/capacities is produced and integrated under his own perspective - not independently, but not being reduced into an object either.

This becomes especially obvious in a new situation where societal conflicts are individualized, because class cultures are being more or less dissoluted. But even in a classical capitalist period, where working class and trade union formed an antagonist societal subject, the individual worker had to integrate these conflicts in his personal work identity.

On the level of education it is obviously destructive to objectify learners. In the context of vocational training and education, where labour is treated as raw materials, a subjective understanding of qualification may contribute to improve pedagogical understanding of learning processes and the (modest) role of education/training.

For these reasons we have seen it as an overall problem to elaborate the **subjective** aspects of the qualification concept.

One could illustrate the relevant levels of qualification analysis with the rest of the figure-levels 6-8, observing levels of analysis that have usually been neglected in the qualification research.

The individual development of competence/capacities is in reality a historical product of societal development - first of all the economic structure and the division of labour. But is fulfilled by the social and cultural organization of life and socialization - in family and class culture, in the workplace and to an increasing degree by formal schooling.

The subjective aspect of qualification may be seen as simply socialization - and in that sense setting a **life history** framework for studying the learning processes, that provide competence/capacities, and for the subjective way of integrating learning processes, that are not only or mainly related to work, but may still be a ground for qualification.

This means making socialization process transparent in the perspective of qualification. This is the way we are approaching in our general qualification project, because it seems feasible as a critical contribution to the pedagogical thinking in labour market related education and training.

As a first step we have developed a "search model" of dimensions in subjective processes, relating to work life as well as "social life in general", and indicating levels of generality. This model is meant to help identify the interrelations of different subjective processes, under the assumption that social interaction and structural relations are relevant influences and perspectives, but that their are being - and must be - integrated in an individual integrating process, provisionally named "identity". We are very well aware that the concept of identity and work identity has been overloaded by a lot of more or less ideological meanings. The complex question to which extent a basic socialization is a prerequisite for personal integration under the conditions of wage labour is left to be an open question.

But there also remains a broader question about in which sense the worker may be(come) subject to his own work, and in a societal sense, a question about democracy. I'm not going far into it, but just indicating the relation to:

- the dissolution of working class cultures, and the outdating of traditional working class attitudes,
- the "individualization" of work and liberation of individual social possibilities and emotional orientation,
- the new political issues like ecological viability.

In between, closely connected with the qualification and the social forming of individuals is the questions about division of labour. Or, in societal perspective, the relation between the individual worker, being the subjective carrier of qualification, and the "societal worker" ("Gesamtarbeiter"), carrying the total and structured qualification. The differentiation in the access to work, the types and degree of control over work, the range of responsibility is on the one side closely dependent on individual competence/capacities - on the other hand the societal structures very deeply influence the development of them - indirectly by forming class structures and cultural segmentation, directly by the work condition and related education as socializing settings.

The questions about the key qualifications in relation to division of labour deserve much more attention, and we believe, that some of them are part of the clarification of the term general qualification. Not only machines and computers, but also social organization, represents monopolizing of human competence. Democratization is not only a question about power, but also (not only) calls for a vast learning process.

On a cultural and political level this might also be described as a question about the relation between the individuals, who hold different parts of the total labour force qualification, f.i. different areas of technological skills, manual skills, organizational and political knowledge - and the cultural integration of such differences.

What is work?

The provisional definition of qualification, relating human competence/capacities to work, leaves a number of questions open.

First, the theoretical reflection as well as the empirical research has been concentrated on industrial work, and the developments in industrial work. This will not cease to be a key sector. But not the only one, and numerically not the major part of labour. So this calls for trend analysis and qualitative comparison between different kinds of work. This lead to the question about division of labour and differentiation of work qualification.

Second, the question could be raised if we are only defining qualification in relation to wage labour? What about petit bourgeois production modes in agriculture etc.? It could be argued, that the concept of qualification should be related to a societal mode of production at least predominantly based on a labour market - which means that wage labour defines the overall work identity, and also defines the competencies/capacities, that are produced or utilized in other modes of production, as qualification. However, demands for participation and workplace democracy tends to define such skills and attitudes, that might be connected with petit bourgeois - like entrepreneurship, unlimited responsibility, identification with the individual firm, saving instead of using - into labour qualification.

And what about the other types of work, included in this mode of production - especially house work and unpaid "cultural" work, that are functionally necessary in the reproduction of wage labour? Obviously, reproduction work does raise new needs for specific qualifications, and also implies f.i. personal skills and attitudes historically developed as social gender, as femininity.

The developments of new wage labour areas within societally organized reproduction - social care, kindergarten, etc. - defines such competence/capacities as qualification, and practically until now benefits from the spontaneous sources in female socialization.

This is one more area, where the seemingly clear and unproblematic definition of qualification by its relevance to work becomes complicated.

I shall not go deeper into this on this occasion. The point is not that the concept of qualification is spread out on the whole social world, but rather to illustrate how this concept embraces some of the central issues of modern society under the point of view, that they relate to human work and the societal organization of human work. This means, on the contrary, a definition of the problems about the range and conditions of relevance of that concept - i.e. a contribution to conceptual clarification.

On the other hand, it implies that work and wage labour should be regarded as constitutive frameworks for adult life and adult education today.

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LABOUR MARKET POLICY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA

Introduction

The changes in the socio-political and socio-economic system of the Republic of Slovenia started at a time rather earlier than at the time when it proclaimed independence from the former joint state of Yugoslavia. By proclaiming Slovenia as an independent and sovereign country in the 1991 and its international recognition in January 1992 we witnessed a key phases in the years-long process of the changing of political and economic conditions in Slovenia, started more intensively already in the second held of the eighties.

The fundamental difference in the political system is the transition from the one-party system to parliament democracy and in the economic field the transition from the planned, mutually established (socialist) economy to market economy.

But the development of the market economy in the new conditions requires the formation of an overall market strategy, including the economic and social policy, which is closely related to the labour market. And it is this work force that has been (and continues to be) in the conditions of the re-structuring of the economy in our conditions faced with intensive and great changes.

In the context of the fundamental economic and social goals to get in the overall development closer to the developed European countries the work force is faced with the demands to approach the European standards in what is regarded as developed, thus in the degree of education of the existing work force that is in the conditions of market economy becoming strategically important for the further development of our society.

Significant Socio-Economic and Socio-Political Changes Over the last Five Years Affecting the Creating of the Labour Market Policy and Adult Education in Slovenia

In the past period - in part owing to the nature of the political system and in part because of the extensive developing of the intensive economic fields - we had a high degree of employment. The big demand for work force involved also the influx of work force from other republic of the former Yugoslavia, mostly for less demanding work. Such a situation was reflected also in the lower educational structure of the employed, which has entailed certain negative consequences also in the present structure of the employed and unemployed.

In the 'eighties the Socialist type of economy started to show certain negative trends - the fall of productivity, non-solvent enterprises, etc. - yet owing the political measures the necessary action was not taken. In spite of the negative trends in the growth the productivity of work and the general efficiency of our economy there was in the first half of the 'eighties no restriction on current employment, while the unemployment rate was around 1,5%.

The weaknesses in the economic development started to show themselves more obviously in the second half of the 'eighties, and this was most obvious in the rapidly increasing unemployment. At first the unemployment was chiefly due to the unemployment of the young generation coming from schools. The firms started to decrease the rate of employment principally on the account of non-replacement of the natural decrease of the employed. With the year 1989 there started the first bankruptcies of the firms - and so the first words about technological and economic surpluses came to the fore in public. Since that year the number of the unemployed started to increase rapidly, and this brought about in the new Slovenia, a young independent country, new economic and social problems.

The basic characteristics of the labour market at the time of the transition to market economy could be summed up in a few points:

1. full employment and security, related also to good social security, was ensured;
2. the predominant part of the labour force was employed in the social (state) sector, while only a minor part 6,8% was employed in the private sector; in the social sector the majority of the work force was employed in industrial branches, which

points to the underdevelopment of the service sector; additionally there was a predominance of big size and medium size enterprises;

3. Slovenia is characterized by a high percentage of women in the overall structure of working force - ca.45%;

4. low educational structure of the employed;

5. low mobility of the work force;

6. low interest of the employed to become included in educational programmes for the improvement of professional knowledge.

The circumstances and the needs for re-structuring at that time called in the development of the economy for new measures for the regulating of the circumstances in the labour market. In this sense there was already at the end of the 'eighties passed a new labour and employment legislature that provided the basis for implementing an active employment policy. This policy and its measures include various programmes referring mostly to that part of the population which is most seriously endangered by the loss of working posts and thus to the solving of urgent problems of increasing unemployment. Before presenting these measures, with special emphasis on education, we shall briefly show the educational structure of work force - the current situation and needs.

Educational Structure of Work Force in Slovenia - Current Situation and Needs

The circumstances in the labour market outlined and the socio-economic changes towards the end of the 'eighties led on the one hand to a rapid decrease of the employed and on the other to a rapid increase of the unemployed. The data are presented in the following table:

Table: **Population, Employment and Unemployment in the Republic of Slovenia during 1980 -1992.**

	Population	Employment	Unemployment	%
Year		a	b	(b/a)
1980	1.901.208	810.927	10.771	1,3
1981	1.917.469	820.019	12.315	1,5
1982	1.931.637	830.625	13.700	1,6
1983	1.943.372	840.300	15.781	1,8
1984	1.942.802	849.169	15.309	1,8
1985	1.973.151	858.300	14.656	1,7
1986	1.980.718	869.735	14.192	1,6
1987	1.989.462	872.463	15.184	1,7
1988	1.999.988	879.941	21.342	2,4
1989	1.999.404	876.158	28.218	3,2
1990	1.998.090	847.120	44.623	5,2
1991	2.001.768	742.698	75.079	10,1
1992	1.995.832	697.400	102.593	14,7

The figures in the table show that the number of the unemployed started to increase rapidly in 1989. The number of the unemployed grows steadily. In June 1993 the number of the unemployed persons, registered as such at employment offices was already 128.000, which represents 14% of the active population of Slovenia.

More important than the number of the unemployed is for the pursuit of the policy of the labour market and the related education policy the actual situation about the structure, and specifically the educational structure, of the work force and their needs.

We shall here first present in brief the data about the educational structure of the employed and than of those who remain unemployed.

Educational Structure of the Employed in Slovenia

The last republican statistical record for the educational structure of the employed was made in 1991. In our contribution the educational structure will be presented according to the degree of education achieved. By degrees I and II demands to be able to perform the simples kinds of work are denoted. The first and the second stage do not imply any vocational or school qualification. For the work at this stage work force becomes qualified in brief training programmes or through learning on the job. Stages III and IV represent the kind of occupation for which employed persons must have a 2-3-year vocational school (following the 8-year schooling); stage V calls for the working ability of those with 4-5 year of secondary education (professional or secondary schools), and stage VI to VII high education (in higher schools and universities).

In the year 1991 the structure of the employed was as follows:

I., II.	32,8%
III., IV.	36,2%
V.	19,4%
VI., VII.	11,6%.

A comparison of the educational structure of those employed in 1981 shows that during the decade up to 1991 the educational structure has improved. But detailed analyses reveal that this improvement was due to the additional training of the work force not so much as to the influx of better trained workers and to the outflow of the less trained ones into the ranks of the unemployed. But the comparison of our educational structure of the employed with the workers employed in the developed European countries shows further on that we have a too high percentage of workers employed without professional qualification on the one and too low percentage of those employed with a higher or high degree of education on the other side.

The lag behind in the education of the employed is evident also from the comparison between the degree of education for existing posts (as regards the existing technical-tehnological and organizational development) and the actual state of how work force is trained or educated.

Educational Structure of the Unemployed

The educational structure of the unemployed is still weaker than that of the employed ones. From the covered-up under-employment there have been coming into the unemployment status ranks of workers without vocational training. In order to compare this with the educational level of the employed we quote here the data also for the unemployed in 1991 and specially (in brackets) for the first half of 1993 (educational structure of the unemployed is changing constantly).

In the year 1991 (and in the first half of 1993) the educational structure of the unemployed was as follows:

I., II.	45,4%	(45,3%)
III., IV.	27,9%	(29,1%)
V.	21,0%	(20,4%)
VI., VII.	5,5%	(5,2%)

Within the structure of the unemployed special attention has to be paid to the problem of the relatively high percentage of the younger unemployed people (up to 25 years of age) who represent a total of ca. 35% of the unemployed. What is here particularly disturbing is fact that as many as 42% of the younger unemployed people have no education whatsoever.

A special problem is represented also by those groups of the unemployed who have a professional training but belong to the group of the so-called critical professions, i.e. professions for which there has no longer been demand for. For most of these professions it appears that also in the perspective future there is hardly to be any bigger demand and this points to the necessity to introduce measures for re-training.

Additionally it is the poor competitiveness on the labour market (inadequate education, too low education) which among the unemployed leads to prolonged unemployment. In this way the position of the unemployed is becoming further aggravated, as with a longer period of waiting for employment the possibilities for further working activity are weakening. In the first half of 1993 the average waiting of the unemployed for a new job lasted for a year and six months. Since in the second half of this year no bigger employment chances can be expected while the social difficulties related to unemployment are big already now, the work on the solution of the longer unemployment problems will in the future have to become one of the fundamental issues in the employment policy.

The data about the educational structure of the employed and unemployed in Slovenia permit us to conclude that such a structure calls for intensive measures. The measures have to be directed at certain specific target groups which in the labour market happen to be in a less favourable position.

Specific Target Groups of Adults in Labour Market - Measures Necessary. Different Access to Education in Different Groups of Adults

The data about the inclusion of our work force in education show that in the past individual groups were not in an inferior position as regards inclusion in (and motivation for) education.

The data concerning the inclusion of employed person in education towards the end of the 'eighties show that a third of them was included, with some of them for the second time. Predominant were shorter forms of education, the calculation of the data showing that annually we had about 3 to 4 hours of education per an employed person.

A detailed analysis according to individual fields would further disclose that in many enterprises only individuals were included in education. This kind of training was predominantly attended by the main professional staff and in the last years by top and middle management. One might say that through adult education the social distratification was being in a sense *effected - with access to education restricted to some ranks. It* has to be added at this stage that also in Slovenia we have exceptions among the firms where for a number of years systematic investment in the training of employees has been carried on.

We have to mention also a negative phenomenon over the last two years: many enterprises that in one form or another have had a developed educational service of their own started now in the sharper conditions of re-structuring to abandon it, thus destroying even those foundations of the training of work force that had been started in the past years.

Such circumstances are increasingly imposing the care for the training of work force upon the state. In view of the rapid changes, particularly during the last two years, the state has not yet worked out a more comprehensive strategy of the education or training of work force. There exist some professional underlying schemes but at present they remain too unrelated to represent a fuller developmental strategy.

Currently it is mostly some groups of the employed and of the unemployed which have a less favourable position in the labour market:

- employed workers with no professional education and training,
- employed workers who have not updated their knowledge,
- the unemployed with no professional education and training,
- the younger unemployed with no professional education and training,
- the older unemployed with no professional education and training.

Under the current circumstances in the labour market in Slovenia predominantly following measures of active employment policy are being taken mostly by the republican employment agency with its 10 regional units and with the financial support of the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Family:

- re-employment of surplus workers in other fields,
- re-training or educating of surplus workers,
- supporting of self-employment (of those still employed and of the unemployed),
- preserving of productive jobs,
- subsidizing of new posts,
- including of those unemployed in education and training,
- training and employing of the disabled,
- engaging of workers in public works, etc.

The analyses of the results of the measures taken so far that the hitherto scope of carrying out these measures is merely mitigating the worst consequences. More through changes would call for larger financial means as well as for readily worked out accompanying macro-economic ready for realization. As it happens, we persist in very grave socio-economic conditions which as yet do not indicate any bigger revival of economy and thus any growth of job opportunities.

It is our belief that such circumstances in the labour market can be met with a well-considered employment policy, with regard to the existing educational structure of the work force and with regard to the developmental needs education in this country must include a wider circle of work force and accordingly prepare it for the circumstances tomorrow.

Within the framework of the Slovene Adult Education Centre we have specifically prepared professional starting points for the policy in the education and training of the unemployed. In the starting points it is formulated that through the education and training of the unemployed the following fundamental aims are to be pursued:

1. the raising of the educational level: ensure for all those who do not have a basic profession or vocation the possibility of acquiring basic vocational education and training; gradually to raise the educational level of our population also through directing the unemployed (or those in danger of losing employment) to the programmes for acquiring education at a level higher than already achieved (from level IV to level V, from level V to level VI or VII);

2. structural adaptation: ensure re-training (requalification) of those professional profiles that are in the labour market in surplus; they should be directed towards prospective professions;

3. the increase of the competitiveness of individuals: ensure programmes for achieving the competitiveness of individuals in employment by directing the unemployed into the programmes of functional education, in gaining function knowledge, skills and abilities;

4. training for active seeking of employment: to mediate knowledge and above all skills for seeking and for keeping the employment;

5. training for self-employment: develop educational programmes for the training for self-employment and thus for the creating of new jobs;

6. preserving of social identity: to ensure for the socially and economically most endangered persons (like those for a long time unemployed or other wise handicapped) psycho-social re-integration - curative and preventive one.

The records of how so far the unemployed were included in education (in the year 1992 10% of the unemployed in Slovenia) show that these workers tend to take part in shorter forms of education and are less interested in longer programmes for acquiring a level of education higher than already achieved. The unemployed are predominantly included in programmes for work on computers and for learning foreign languages which are suitable for those who already have a degree of education - but not for those who are in the labour market in a much inferior position, since they have no basic vocation (workers for whom the demand is generally smaller - and at present next to nothing).

All this makes us aware that the policy of the education of work force must be directed to:

- education programmes aimed at raising the level of education by levels of formal-school education;
- programmes for raising the competitiveness in seeking re-employment (acquisition of new knowledge);
- programmes for preserving the social identity and
- programmes for raising the general education of work force.

Let us once more state that such a policy of the education of work force needs support of appropriately organized system of adult education (with the necessary financial means, network of organizations and systemic foundation), and of the co-operation of all social partners figuring in the labour market.

Interrelation of Labour Market and Adult Education - Economic and Humanistic (Antropological-Humane) Aspect

In Slovenia throughout the past years adult education enjoyed full support at the declarative level. In all the significant socio-political documents it was stated that adult education represented a constituent part of the comprehensive system of education. But in practice adult education was all the time left outside of what was legally regulated, so to speak on the fringe, without adequate financial means and legal basis. In spite of that, but because of the needs for and the awareness of the significance adult education, through various periods more of less successfully this sort of education kept developing. This field in Slovenia has kept developing thanks to the persistent professional effort and the personal enthusiasm of individual professionals in adult education who were on the one hand developing the discipline and were thus providing a professional basis for adult education in practice and, on the other hand, were all the time working towards full regulation of adult education within the philosophy of permanent, life-long education.

In the beginning of the 'nineties significant stimulations for the development of adult education in Slovenia occurred. In January 1992 the government of the Republic of Slovenia founded the Slovene Adult Education Centre as the central developmental-research and professional-counselling institution for adult education in Slovenia.

In this year already preparations started of the technical foundations for working out the Law concerning adult education, which is now in the form of the draft awaiting to be discussed in the parliament.

We are still waiting for the passing of the national programmes of adult education that as such would be include also the strategy of the education of work force. In 1992, within the framework of preparing a comprehensive overview of the education for the 21st century, there were specifically prepared technical foundations for the national programme of adult education in Slovenia. Unfortunately this document has to date not yet been discussed in the parliament, but in practice the technical foundations are already used as starting points for the development of this field in this country. These technical foundations are contain the basis standpoints for defining the basic subjects of adult education, the programmes, and the legally ensured rights in adult education.

Within the framework of the technical foundations we have worked out a proposal for the regulating of the financing of adult education in Slovenia. At present only 0,03% of GNP is allocated for adult education (and with the means for employment 0,09%), which represents 0,7% of all the means for education (for the entire education in Slovenia 3,5% of GNP is allocated). Our proposal is that for the purposes of adult education 1% of GNP be allocated, and this would represent 10% in the structure of all the financial means intended for education.

We would like to call attention to the more comprehensive significance and role of adult education in our circumstances. We should specifically point out that education of adults is being valued merely in connection with the development of labour market. What is more, only those programmes of professional education and training are valued which directly affect the increase of the efficiency of work force. Such a one sided, would be economic view all too often neglects the fact that in the process of man's efficiency man is to be valued as a whole - the development of all this three dimensions: man as a generic creature, as an individual-personal being, and as social and socio-political figure. It is only the education that develops man as an individual personality, as a social and social-political being and as a generic being (for creative self-realization) that provides the basis for a democratic and humane development of the society. And in this way only it cannot developed only through and individual segment in adult education but only if it is included in all the subsystems of the adult education of a particular society. At any moment in the conditions and circumstances of a given society there comes up the question of the relation between the individual kinds (contents) of educational programmes, a relation certainly determined by the adjusting of the interests of various partners on the labour market - employer and employee.

It should be noted that in our circumstances the individual partners in the market are weakly (or not as yet) organized as regards the roles and tasks assigned to them. Particularly weakly organized are the trade unions. This organizations have not yet developed their own field of education, let alone constitute themselves as the workers' representative in ensuring educational opportunities. In our situation these processes are only in the initial phase.

The outlined circumstances in Slovenia may be denoted as a significant boundary stone in the dynamics of the growth of adult education in Slovenia. When speaking of the labour market we must be especially sensitive to the needs of the specific groups of adults who in addition to professional education and training also need to raise their general education, education for leisure time, for personal growth, and for social life.

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I.

1st Workshop

QUALIFICATION AND WORK PROCESS RESEARCH

REPORT
from the Workshop on "Qualification and Work Process Research"

The four presentations raised a number of points which lie at the heart of research into the Labour Market and Adult Education.

1. Methodology. One presentation was a broad quantative analysis of the changing nature of training provision from the 1950s whilst the other three papers were essentially qualitative examinations. This raised the fundamental question of how research in this field can both incorporate broad overviews whilst at the same time properly evaluating the detailed patterns of change. Whilst general analyses based on national statistics can paint a broad canvas showing overrall patterns they sometimes mask and distort the real situation. So within the UK economy national statistics show high levels of training within the food industry, but this masks the fact that significant numbers of employees only receive a basic hygiene course which is a statutory requirement. At the same time qualitative research, largely based on interviews has to confront the problem of respondents providing the answers that they feel you want or exaggerating their involvement in the issues covered by the interview. In addition it is important to question whether individuals and firms are representative of national trends and patterns. The increased concern with subjectivity has to confront the problem of how to incorporate factors such as class, gender and age. It seems clear that methodology in adult education research remains a fruitful area for further discussion.

2. All of the papers showed the increasing importance of the workplace as a centre of learning. Figures from Norway showed that around three times as much adult education was taking place in the workplace than in formal adult education provision in the community. This raises questions as to the relationship of teachers and researchers in further and higher education to workplace education. Within the workplace new patterns of provision and new teaching techniques are being developed which need to be examined and evaluated. Certainly within the UK the dangerous division between vocational and non-vocational adult education and between workplace and non workplace education poses the possibility that developments in one area may be largely ignored in the other.

3. There was a broad agreement that the development of Post-Fordist patterns of work organization were producing important changes in adult education provision in the workplace and in the community generally. In particular there was a growing importance attached to the development of personal skills, which were increasingly seen as offering the chance of developing flexibility, creativity and independent thinking. However reservations were expressed about a number of aspects of these changes:

(i) Were firms developing transferable skills or limiting training to those skills directly relevant to the individual firm and thereby retarding overrall skills development.

(ii) The introduction of new patterns of education and training in the workplace which had the ostensible aims of creating flexibility were often developed in a hierarchical manner by management for lower grades - developed by us for them rather than developed by everybody for everybody.

(iii) There was often a lack of involvementof the labour force or the trade unions in the planning and development of a learning culture. Indeed there was a general recognition that the Trade Unions, confronted by the major changes associated with economic restructuring were having little impact on many of the major changes taking place in workplace education and its role in the changing face of industrial relations and human resource development.

(iv) There was sometimes an uncritical acceptance of education and training as being good per se irrespective of its objectives, methods and outcomes. More work needed to be undertaken on worker "rationality" in opposing or even subverting schemes which were antithetical to their own long term interests.

4. There was a recognition of the growing inequality within economically restructuring societies with the growth of a labour force composed of three distinct groups. First highly skilled workers, second a growing contingent of part-time, seasonal or temporary workers and finally a socially marginalized group whose prospects of employment were severely limited. This division was already to some extent reflected in education and training provision with a core of permanent and increasingly skilled workers receiving growing levels of education and training, but associated with this was a periphery in which education and training was limited in terms both of quality and quantity. This raises for adult educators the fundamental question as to whether in the present context education and training was exacerbating these divisions and increasing social marginalization and social inequalities in developed economies.

5. The papers outlined a change in techniques with an increased concern with outcomes based education rather than with knowledge based education. In addition the workshop recognised the growing importance of subjectivity in the planning and teaching of adult education. It recognised that within the learning process the central role of the individual and their interrelationship with both social and working life.

6. Amongst the participants there was a concern for increased education and training for the unskilled and semi-skilled and a recognition of the failures in the past to give a rightful precedence to this work. However this ongoing scenario raises the question whether an important function of adult education is rehabilitation from the failures of initial compulsory education. This in turn raises questions about the relationships between pedagogy and andragogy.

7. Clearly apparent from all the presentations were changes and developments in the labour market which were common to the all the advanced European economies. This often produced complementary changes within adult education, but at the same time the variety of adult education structures, often very specific to individual countries, was sometimes producing very different solutions. This raises the question of setting and how important both the individual educational setting and also the national context are for Adult Education research and development.

8. The workshop recognised a growing divergence between the public and private sectors as settings for adult education with increasingly differing objectives, patterns and outcomes.

Arising out of the workshop the following may be summarised as key future concerns:

> Methodology - how do you study the life-long learning experience and how do you measure and evaluate it? How do we marry general overrall trends with qualitative analysis?
>
> What is the role of trade unions in workplace learning and life-long education?
>
> Is a new work identity emerging which requires fundamental changes in adult education?
>
> Changing teaching methods and techniques - how do we incorporate alternative patterns of learning and how do we educate and train those involved in such developments?

Does adult education simply exacerbate the problems of social marginalization and social inequality or are there alternatives?

The Learner - how do we evaluate at the subjective level and relate to the wider factors in society such as gender, age and class?

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TRENDS IN EMPLOYER FUNDED TRAINING AS AN INDICATOR OF CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT

Abstract

On the basis of trends in employer funded training, the paper examines competing accounts of long term changes in employment contrasting developments in the private sector with those of the public sector. It is argued that developments in the private sector may best be explained with reference to the bipolarisation thesis, rather than the neo-marxist degrading thesis or the technical-functionalist upgrading thesis, in that while there is a general increase of the enskilling of unskilled employees this is off set by the degrading of older employees and part-time female employees. In addition the burgeoning leisure services sector generates few training opportunities. While the private sector appears to be moving towards greater flexibility, the public sector is perennially hierachical in its allocation of training. Given the large and rising proportion of part-time female employees in this sector, it is speculated that the degrading thesis may have applicability to the public sector.

Purpose

On a general level the purpose of this paper is to contribute to the debate on the direction of long term changes in employment with particular reference to the Norwegian private sector. On a more specific level we are examining the degree to which employer sponsored skills upgrading is increasingly restricted, despite the substantial increases to employers' training expenditure, to the upper echelons of the work organisation. This is, after all, what the neo-Marxist degrading thesis would have us suppose. In addition to exploring changes in the allocation of employer funded vocational training in the work organisation, we will also examine its contribution to intragenerational social mobility amongst unskilled manual workers and routine non-manual employees. The degrading thesis would discount the possibility that what training that might be allocated to low-level employees confers skills which in any way promote mobility. Instead it would view any training these employees might receive as having no career-developmental function, but rather as a device for equipping them with the means to execute new sets of strictly circumscribed, routinized tasks. Opposed to this is the common-place assumption that because of the continuous restructuring of the economy, the matter of regular access to new skills is of critical importance to the individual employee regardless of level.[1]

After providing a brief overview of trends in employers' investments in training and previous research we thereafter present the major theories of trends in contemporary employment. These, together with a number of supplementary theoretical considerations, form the context of our empirical analyses of changes in the nature of the mechanisms that shape the allocation of training and mobility deriving from training.

Background

Four yearly statistics compiled by the Norwegian Employers Association for 1954-1983 indicate a steady upward trend in industrial companies' investments in training with these companies quadrupling their spending on training in real terms during the period (NAF, 1985). With the Norwegian Council for Industry reporting significant increases in training expenditure for the period 1983-1986 (Eeg-Henriksen & Mikkelsen, 1986), it would appear that a growing emphasis on the development of employee competencies represents a permanent trend. These increases have occured without any government pressure either in the form of training levies or tax incentives. Indeed, as far as company training is concerned, Norway has never had any system of centralized governmental regulation or control, companies' training expenditures being very much the responsibility of the individual firm.

Previous Research

In this paper we are exploring the manner in which a section of what has been labelled the "shadow educational system" (Nordhaug, 1991) interacts with employment status and impacts on career opportunity. The concept of "shadow" refers to the complex of heterogeneous, unregulated and largely uncharted opportunities adults have to develop their knowledge and skills. However, it also, evokes the area's marginal research status. Thus as Anderson & Darkenwald pointed out as long ago as 1979, while there is an abundance of research on the distribution and outcomes of youth education, little research has been conducted on work-related adult education. This largely remains the case.

Most studies of the outcomes of work-related adult education which have been reported since Anderson & Darkenwald's pronouncement have generally had somewhat limited ambitions, reflected not least in that outcomes have usually been explored using simple dichotomous measures (e.g. Skaalvik & Tvete, 1980; Nordhaug, 1982; Berntsen, 1984). Moreover, their focus has not been on long-term changes in the distribution of training, nor on long-term career outcomes. Instead, they have produced synchronic pictures of distribution and examined a broad range of immediate outcomes of participation. To the extent these studies impinge on the issue of social mobility, they would actually seem to discount any assumption that work-related adult education has any substantial impact on mobility, in that little more than one in ten participants report promotion as a simultaneous consequence of participation.

One notable exception is Tuijnman's (1989) study which adopts a longer term perspective and is specifically oriented to the analysis of career outcomes and career outcomes alone. His fifty-year longtitudinal study of the outcomes of job and career-related adult education amongst a cohort of Swedish men indicates, with some reservations, that "(work-related) adult education provides opportunities for upward career mobility independently of youth educational attainment" (1989:194). Tuijnman's findings would therefore, unlike the earlier studies we have referred to, appear to validate his belief in the importance of incorporating adult learning in studies of status attainment.

Tuijnman's contention is thus that there are channels of mobility in the form of work-related adult educational opportunities available to adults that increasingly function independently of both current and previous statuses. This implies that the concept of the linear career is becoming problematic so that models of status attainment will increasingly have to include adult educational opportunities as forces in their own right.

Three Theses of Change in Employment

We regard Tuijnman's perspective, one he shares with so many other adult educators (see, for example Cross, 1981), as constituting an extension of the technical-functional theory of education (see, for example, Kerr *et al.*, 1960). At the societal level, technological change is steadily creating jobs that require new, higher-level skills. Competition for these new positions is open to anyone who can demonstrate that they have acquired the relevant skills, with skills access being steadily more available. Furthermore, substantial numbers of low-level, unskilled jobs that already exist are being upgraded and with them, as a consequence of training, their holders.

The neo-Marxist (see, e.g. Braverman, 1974) response to these twin assertions has been that technological change, for most employees, involves a narrowing and erosion of the skills they have traditionally brought to their tasks. In other words, employers will steadily set less store by skills and more on a willingness by the bulk of their work-forces to perform routine tasks. Any employer-funded training that is carried out will be limited to those in what Wright *et al* (1982) termed *contradictory* class locations, particularly senior executives, middle-level managers and technical experts.

One obvious problem with which the neo-Marxist thesis fails to cope is that the long term trend in employment does not, as Goldthorpe (1990) has indicated, bear out the central contention of degrading. Referring to the Swedish Labour Survey, Goldthorpe notes that the opposite would appear to be the case, with a steady rise in employee job satisfaction together with more widespread autonomy. Furthermore, data for Norway indicates increasing proportions of male employees located within higher functionary positions and decreasing proportions within manual occupations (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989). On the other hand, such difficulties do not constitute a sufficient reason for opting for the upgrading thesis. At the very least rising levels of unemployment and involuntary retirement constitute sufficient grounds for discounting any ready acceptance of the upgrading thesis.

It is, however, possible to discern a third model within the literature on trends in contemporary labour processes as a consequence of technological change. Drawing on the work of Kern & Schumann (1977) in Germany, Colbjornsen (1982) of Norway posits a *bipolarisation* thesis which contends that within one and the same industry or indeed within one and the same enterprise new demands may cause some occupations to be upgraded while others are downgraded. This process will thereby generate new lines of segmentation between unskilled and skilled positions. This thesis may be viewed as representing a considerably more dynamic version of dual labour market theory (see for example Doeringer & Piore, 1971). Whereas dual labour market theory emphasizes stasis, arguing that the division between primary and secondary labour markets is historically determined and largely institutionalised,[2] the bipolarisation thesis emphasizes technologically induced change. In British research one finds an analogous line of thought in evidence in what is termed the *compensatory theory of skill* which in its revised form argues that "technological change in the contemporary era is producing both enskilling and deskilling effects" (Penn et al., 1992: 671).

We would argue though that both the bipolarisation thesis and the compensatory theory of skill are too narrowly conceived in that neither takes into account a third possible outcome of technological change, *viz.* task elimination. This seems particularly singular in the case of the revised compensatory theory in that sections of the research that underpin it report "widespread elimination of labouring tasks" (Penn & Scattergood, 1985: 619) and with it redundancies as a result of mechanization in areas outside direct production.

In order to account for task elimination as well as enskilling and deskilling we would take as our starting point the individual capitalist enterprise's long term dependency on its ability to maintain some form of competetive advantage. This ability may be viewed as involving the protection of a technological core from which its products emanate and which must be defended from the buffetings of the environment (Thompson, 1967). Research and development, together with those production and maintenance skills and decision-making activities that translate its results into marketing initiatives, is thus the core around which all other activities are gathered. In principle, those who man these other or secondary activities are disposable and will "inevitably", according to the logic of rationalization under which industrial capitalism functions, be disposed of as and when the enterprise is able to reconstitute their labour power more cheaply with technology (Weber, 1961; Collins, 1986). Thus as the efficiencies offered by computerized automation have been recognized "business process re-engineering" as it has been dubbed has resulted in many routine tasks being made obsolete. In broad terms one might therefore expect that while on the one hand there is a trend towards strengthening the technological or intellectual core, on the other there is a trend towards degrading and displacement at the lower levels of the enterprise.

Thus in our revised bipolarisation thesis (under which we will subsume the compensatory theory) the logic of capitalism as it manifests itself in the industrial enterprise is such that one might expect to find both elements of upgrading and degrading, with degrading encompassing not only deskilling but also job-loss.

The "Flexible" Organization and Post-Industrualism

Recent theoretical developments with respect to changes in the structure of employment tend to bear the imprint of the bipolarisation thesis rather than the liberal or neo-marxist variants. What distinguishes them from the bipolarisation thesis though, or for that matter from the latter's two competing theses, is that the sweep of focus is no longer confined to industrial employment. Indeed new developments stress on the one hand the decline in manufacturing and on the other the shift in employment towards the post-industrial service sector.

i) The "Flexible" Organization and Training

With regards to the decline in employment in manufacturing, it is argued that this is part ascribable to technological change "massively" reducing labour inputs and in part to the globalisation of production with routine assembly work increasingly located to low-wage economies (Crompton, 1993). Within the advanced economies what remains of manufacturing is increasingly characterized by a shift from "Fordist" to "post-Fordist" methods of production with the hierarchical organization being superseded by the "flexible" organization and the mass worker by the multi-skilled and autonomous worker (see e.g. Esping-Andersen, 1992). The flexible manufacturing organization is also characterized by flexible employment. As Walker (1992:4), an American HRM consultant observes:

> "Many companies are adopting flexible employment as a human resource strategy. They focus recruitment, retention, and development on a core of talent with the required critical skills. They staff variable needs with talent on contingent employment arrangements - fixed term, temporary, part time. Many services which do not require day-to-day company supervision are contracted out."

It should be clear that the concept of the flexible organization is broadly synonymous with the logic of the bipolarisation thesis. If they are not eventually discharged by their industry, employees are increasingly upgraded at their companies' expense. This implies steadily increasing training expenditure on those who directly man the core activities of manufacturing, that is increasingly all those who work in pensionable full-time employment. This development would apply regardless of an occupational holder's place in the hierarchy not least because it would appear that "the boundaries between the worker, the manager, and the technician may be eroding" (Esping-Andersen, 1992:29). In short, in the prototypical flexible manufacturing organization all employees are core employees. The labour market is thus becoming increasingly segmented, at least in terms of manufacturing companies' core specific competencies, with declining possibilities for transfer from non-core to core activities.

ii) Post-Industrial Alternatives and Training

Labour which is shed or which is never hired by manufacturing is confronted by a number of alternatives. A portion will, as we have noted, service the industrial economy externally supplying for example specialized professional services on a contractual basis. Such opportunities will be limited though to those with higher levels of education, persons who would have relatively little difficulty in finding employment within the upper reaches of the credential conscious public sector. For those lacking higher education the nature of the major available opportunities will be contingent on the degree to which the welfare state intervenes in the labour market (Esping-Andersen, 1992). A private low-pay service sector may be less a feature of a post-industrial economy if there is a large expanding public sector, state financed long-term training opportunities and early retirement schemes. Thus in the case of Norway, although there is evidence that enterprises since the late 1970s increasingly forced older employees to take early retirement (Bo, 1989; Foss & Nilsen, 1993) and thereafter, as the previous decade progressed, engaged in a more fundamental rationalization of jobs,[3] there has been none of the pronounced increase in low paid, casualized, non-unionized private sector service employment one associates with the United States. The rise in unemployment has instead been accompanied by substantial increases in government funded training schemes (Gooderham & Nordhaug, 1993), temporary employment schemes, and places in further and higher education[4] in addition to significant increases in public sector employment (B , 1989; Foss & Nilsen, 1993).

With regards to long-term developments in the post-industrial sector and what these might imply for training, it must be pointed out that the three competing employment development theses we have outlined deal exclusively with the private industrial sector. Those who have treated of the subject of the post-industrial sector have variously tended to focus on the emergence of an elite of professional experts (see e.g. Bell, 1974) and what Esping-Andersen (1992) refers to as the "consumer service proletariat". The former, given the evolving and complex nature of the market it serves, will presumably be training rich, while the latter will be training impoverished because the only skill required of it is some degree of customer sensitivity.[5] The nature of the public sector, however, is rarely the object of any sustained theoretical scrutiny. For a country such as Norway with its large public sector this gap is particularly critical.

We would be inclined to argue that the public sector, because it operates in a relatively stable environment, conforms more closely to the bureaucratic organizational form identified by Weber (1947) than does the private sector.[6] This appears to be borne out by the public sector's more pronounced use of certified educational qualifications as a criterion of appointment as well as its more formalized bureaucratic principles of promotion and service (Gooderham & Dale, 1992). Stable as the environment of the public sector is with regards to external competition, it nevertheless contains an internal dynamic in that many of its employees regard themselves as professionals at least in terms of having a perception that their skills are based on a body of theoretical knowledge that is constantly evolving. In other words it would seem reasonable to suppose that there exists a general training ethos in the public sector at least amongst its professionals.[7] Moreover, this may well filter down to its lower ranks if not as an ethos at least as a pressure to develop in accordance with the changing demands their seniors make of them. Thus, given the continuous growth of theoretical knowledge, we should expect steadily increasing levels of training amongst public sector employees. However, unlike the flexible organization of the manufacturing sector, we must expect that the growth in training in the bureaucratic public sector will be closely correlated with seniority of position.

Supplementary Theoretical Considerations

Thus far we have exclusively discussed training in relation to position in the organizational hierarchy. There are, however, a number of other factors which we should consider of which the gendered division of labour is arguably the most important. Because women are frequently subordinated in the work-place, we must expect that their chances of being encompassed within the training-rich circle of core activities are significantly lower than that of men. In part this may be ascribable to the marginality of their employment participation, a marginality that stems from their tendency to work part-time, part-time work being generally associated with insecurity of employment. However, we would argue that although gender and part-time employment are intimately related, they nevertheless represent two factors that should be considered independently of one another. As Ellings ther (1989) has shown for Norway, there has been a trend during the 1980s towards married women remaining in full-time employment, a trend that is particularly noticeable for women with pre-school children.[8] This not only serves to diminish the differences between male and female employment careers, but it also accentuates the distinction between women with continuous careers and women with disjointed careers.

Although age as a factor has not received the extensive attention accorded to gender, its supposed effect on training opportunities has nevertheless been the subject of some speculation. It has been argued that employers view workers as having "a finite range of years (ages) in which to invest in improving or altering their 'stocks' of human capital" (Featherman, 1983:13) and are therefore reluctant to invest in the training of older people because their remaining working lives are shorter. It may also be the case that as it is popularly believed that older people have a diminished learning ability (Habib, 1985) employers will prefer to invest in the development of younger employees.

It should be noted though that previous research indicates that ascriptive features such as age and gender appear to be less a feature of the public sector than the private sector (Gooderham & Dale, 1992). This may well be because the public sector is more responsive to notions of "fair" treatment particulary as in the case of gender and race where legislation is applicable.

Empirical Aims

i) The traditional private sector

The primary aim of our empirical analyses is to test the various sets of hypotheses concerning the long-term expansion in training investment by private sector employers derivable from each of the three employment development theses.

a) Hypothesizing from the neo-Marxist degrading thesis would result in two basic suppositions: i) that expansions in training expenditure will invariably be concentrated at management levels thereby consolidating managerial omnipotence, and ii) that any training that might be provided for workers would aim at strictly equipping them in the performance of simple decomposed tasks.

b) The technical-functionalist upgrading thesis would have us suppose that i) training expenditure has been evenly distributed but with probably more emphasis on providing unskilled employees with the skills necessary for manning new technologies, so that ii) the attainment of skills will be reflected in an upgrading in terms of organizational rank;

c) Like the technical-functionalist thesis, the bipolarisation thesis would also lead us to expect a relative upgrading of unskilled employees. However, it would also emphasize that this training based process is by no means universal. It is restricted to those whom the enterprise wishes to retain as part of its core staffing. In other words, upgrading is limited and will be accompanied by degrading manifested in for example the deselection of those who are not offered training.

ii) The public sector & private leisure services

Supplementary consideration will be given to the public sector and the burgeoning yet nevertheless still, at least in the Norwegian case, limited private leisure services sector which embraces health studio employees, waitresses, hairdressers, beauticians, etc.. Our expectation is that we will be able to identify a general rise in the levels of employer financed training in the public sector but that this will, at least in absolute terms, be far less a feature of the low technology private leisure services sector where the need for skills development will be limited. With regards to the two main sectors of the economy, we expect the growth in training to display a more stable hierarchical character in the public sector. We have argued that ascriptive features will limit participation in training in the private sector to a greater degree than in the public sector. However, part-time employees will be less likely to receive training regardless of sector.

Data

We will address our empirical aims on the basis of aggregate data from the Norwegian Survey of Living Conditions for the years 1982, 1986 and

1990 and panel data from the same survey for the years 1986 and 1990.

Operationalisation of variables

The following comprises a brief description of the content of the variables to be employed.

i) Employer funded training

This is a dichotomous variable which distinguishes those employees who reported having been allocated work-related training or education during normal working hours from those who do not report having received any such training whatsoever.[9] Clearly this is a somewhat crude measure of training receipt in that the operationalistion denies us the opportunity to explore the possible effects of any variations in levels or amounts of training. However, such a limitation is a pervasive feature of much education research in which it is commonplace to operationalise for example higher education in a similar manner, that is as though it were a homogeneous entity. Naturally this does not in itself constitute an argument against developing a more refined version of the training variable, but it does underscore our stratgey which is to regard refinement as a secondary task that may be delayed until it has been established that significant benefits accrue to those employees who are allocated training.

ii) Employee rank

The classification of employee rank we have employed is derived from the Norwegian "Standard Classification of Socioeconomic Status" (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984). It is the outcome of a series of categorizations that results in five socioeconomic categories of employees together with a number of non-employee categories.

The initial categorization is based on a distinction between those who are occupationally active (i.e. at least 500 hours paid work in the course of the previous year) and those who are not. Thereafter, employees and self-employed are distinguished. The self-employed are then grouped according to whether they belong to the primary sector or not.

Categorization of employee occupations is divided into three stages. At stage one they are divided into two groups on the basis of a manual/non-manual work criterion. At the second stage, the occupations within each of these two generic groups of employees are structured according to the average level of formal education their members had at the time of the 1970 national census. This criterion "is intended to express an important characteristic of the employee's location within the work organization" (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984:9) and results in a distinction between unskilled and skilled manual occupations and four non-manual competence levels.

The third and final stage of categorisation of employee occupations is then performed according to whether leadership tasks are involved. This results in a total of five employee categories or ranks:

I Unskilled manual workers - no leadership tasks;

II a) Unskilled manual occupations - leadership tasks,
b) Skilled manual occupations - with/without leadership tasks;

III Non-manual occupations - lowest level of competence - no leadership tasks;

IV a) Non-manual occupations - lowest level of competence - leadership tasks,
b) Non-manual occupations - next lowest level of competence with/without leadership tasks,
c) Non-manual occupations - next highest level of competence - no leadership tasks;

V a) Non-manual occupations - next highest level of competence - leadership tasks,
b) Non-manual occupations - highest level of competence - with/without leadership tasks.

In essence, ranks I and III, that is unskilled manual workers and routine non-manual employees, comprise fundamentally unskilled positions, while the other ranks contain those positions which to a greater or lesser extent are *enskilled*. This applies not least to ranks IV and V, hereafter refered to as junior and senior functionaries, that is categories of employees which span not only managers but also engineers, accountants and marketing staff.

iii) Part-time/full-time employment

This a dichotomized variable with part-time employment comprising paid employment in the individual's primary job of less than thirty hours per week.

iv) Gender

Dichotomized variable.

v) Age

Age is a dichotomized variable that differentiates employees under the age of 50 and those who are between 50 and 67 years of age. The choice of 50 years of age while partly intuitive is, more importantly, based on previous research that indicates that a decline in participation in employer funded training sets in around this point in the career cycle (Knudsen & Skaalvik, 1978).

vi) Sector

We have distinguished three sectors of employment:

i) The "traditional" private sector (manufacturing, the building trades, transport, quarrying, mining, financial services, the retail trade).

ii) The public sector.

iii) The private leisure services sector (beauty salons, health studios, bars, cafes, hair salons, restaurants, courier services, etc.).

Within the traditional private sector it will be noted that we have chosen to include not only manufacturing but also sections of the more traditional services sector such as banking as well as the building trade and communications. This may appear to be a somewhat disparate categorization particularly with regards to the inclusion of financial services. However, it should be borne in mind that technological innovation was no more in evidence than in the case of the banking sector during the 1980s.[10]

It may noted that the only sector not included in our analysis is the primary sector (farming, fisheries and forestry) which accounts for under 10% of employment.

Empirical Results

i) Allocation of training

To test our hypotheses concerning i) the significance of rank in determining the distribution of the increasing levels of employer financed training, and ii) the degree to which the public sector is more hierarchical in its distribution of training, we display in Table 1 a logistic regression analysis of the effect of rank, gender and time, age and leisure services (private sector only) on training for each of the two main sectors for the years 1982, 1986 and 1990. In addition we have included mean training participation rates for each of the two sectors.

The table indicates that growth in training provision as measured by the mean participation rate for all employees has been common to both the public and the private sectors. However, their respective trajectories are rather different. In the private sector after relatively strong growth between 1982 and 1986 there was no further growth. We would choose to interpret this slow-down as a response to the recessionary economic climate at the end of the decade.[11] In contrast, the growth in the mean participation rate in the public sector was more or less constant throughout, thus underscoring our assumption of different logics operating in these sectors.

Turning to the subject of rank as an allocation mechanism, it will be observed that ranks IV and V (junior and senior functionaries) differ significantly from the reference category, rank I (unskilled manual workers) for both sectors throughout the period. However, the size of the logit coeffecients for these two ranks has declined markedly in the private sector between 1983 and 1990 in comparison with those of the public sector. In short, while, as the means indicate, there was an overall growth in training allocation in both of sectors between 1982 and 1990, the marked narrowing of the coefficients for ranks IV and V in the private sector suggests a trend towards more flexible organizations, while the lack of narrowing in the public sector indicates that it continues to operate a relatively rigid hierarchical framework. Developments amongst ranks II and III tend to support this supposition. By 1990 in the private sector, the training accorded to rank III (routine non-manual employees) is not significantly different to that accorded to rank I unlike in 1983. Moroever, there is a noticeable narrowing of the difference between rank II (skilled manual workers) and rank I. However, in the public sector, although there has been little or no difference between ranks II and I,

Table 1: **Logistical regression analysis of the effect of rank, gender and time, age, leisure services (private sector only) on training for 1982, 1986 and 1990 by sector. Logit coefficients. Variables not entered: rank 1, men, under 50 years of age, other than leisure services (private sector only).**

	1983		1986		1990	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
CONSTANT	-1.6511**	-2.4681**	-1.1034**	-1.6494**	-.8483**	-1.4692**
Rank:						
Rank II	.6165	1.2823**	-.0725	.8229**	.0484	.5275*
Rank III	.6908	.8656*	.5012	.5520*	.7238*	.5120
Rank IV	1.3586**	2.2700**	1.0492**	1.6471**	1.2699**	1.0724**
Rank V	1.6318**	2.3607**	1.2231**	1.5068**	1.2016**	1.2456**
Gender and time:						
Women full-time	-.1450	-.4925*	-.2864	.1905	-.2066	-.0546
Women part-time	-1.8142**	-.9982**	-1.1783**	-.9626**	-1.2467**	-.7871**
Age:						
50 years or above	-.3186	-.6010**	0.0312	-.8148**	.0200	-.6986**
Private leisure services	-	-1.2522**	-	-.7533*	-	-.9924**
-2 Log-likelihood	736.396	901.840	948.419**	1279.266	983.329**	1257.481*
Model chi-square	97.659**	157.284**	72.268**	147.670**	75.900**	80.355**
Mean participation	25.3%	17.6%	34.7%	25.9%	44.0%	25.9%
N	725	1110	791	1244	772	1169

**p<.01 *p<.05

when we examine the difference between ranks III and I we find that it has clearly increased during the period.

To summarize, our findings on the allocation of training indicate that the importance of rank in the main private sector for training selection has, relative to the public sector, declined markedly during the 1980s. Whereas in 1982 it was apparently more important than in the public sector as an allocative mechanism, in 1990 it was apparently actually less important. However, the table does indicate a need for caution in that it reveals that while there may well have been a move in the private sector towards greater flexibility in the distribution of training opportunities, rank is still a major determinant of selection. In other words, the process of increased flexiblity has not progressed sufficiently for us to be able to claim that the perennially rank conscious public sector is definitively more hierarchical in character than the private sector in the matter of training.

Table 1 also enables us to address our two part concern with aspects of the employee that may restrict training opportunity independently of rank. The first part relates to the impact of the ascriptive features of age and gender on selection for employer funded training. Our contention is that age and gender will be of more consequence in the private sector than the public sector. The second part of the hypothesis draws attention to the marginality of the part-time worker. In the table we have combined gender and working-time, distinguishing women in full-time employment from women in part-time employment with men functioning as the reference group. Starting with women in full-time employment, the coefficients indicate no significant discrimination in training allocation in the public sector at any stage during the period. However, contrary to our expectation, significant discrimination is also absent from the private sector from 1986.

That part of our hypothesis concerning the marginal status of part-time employees in relation to training opportunities is substantially confirmed. Given that women frequently work part-time this provides a corrective to the above finding on the virtual absence of any effect of gender amongst full-time employees. What we failed to anticipate though is the tendency of the public sector, at least in 1982 and 1990, to discriminate part-time women employees to a seemingly greater degree than the private sector.

The table indicates that the effect of age fails to achieve statistical significance at any point in time in the public sector. Indeed from 1986 it to all intents and purposes has no bearing on training selection at all. However, it is a consistently strong discriminatory mechanism in the private sector.

The table also displays the effect of working in the private leisure services on training allocation. As we had anticipated, employees within this sector are significantly less likely to be receive any training than those in the traditional private sector. Thus our limited analysis of the private leisure services sector supports our argument that this is an "outlier" sector.

Finally, turning to the -2 Log-likelihood and the chi-square measures, the latter indicate that at each point in time for both sectors our estimated models represent significant improvements at the p.01 level on the logistic regression model that contains only the constant. However, the former is significant in 1990 for both sectors indicating that as training has expanded (as the increase in the size of the constants as well as the means attests to) the overall explanatory power or the "goodness of fit" of our model has declined since 1983. In other words by 1990 our two estimated models differ significantly from their respective "perfect models". However, with reference to our earlier analyses, it would appear that the pattern of this decline in goodness of fit differs by sector. In the case of the public sector the loss of goodness of fit appears to be relatively evenly distributed across the independent variables, whereas for the private sector it is particularly changes in the impact of rank that accounts for loss of fit.

ii) Training as a channel of mobility

Of the three employment development theses, it is the neo-Marxist which thus far has been undermined at least with regards to the private sector. The long-term increase in training expenditure in the main private sector has clearly not been monopolized by the functionary ranks. However, proponents of the neo-Marxist thesis would presumably retort that while this may be so, the training received by unskilled manual and, a central tenet of their thesis, routine non-manual employees will be limited to that of mastering routinized tasks. Arguably the most critical test of the validity of such a line of argument would be to examine whether there is any tendency for individuals within the unskilled manual and routine non-manual ranks who receive employer-funded training to gain promotion to the highly enskilled ranks of the junior and senior functionaries. Table 2 which contains panel data for the years 1986 and 1990 enables us to move some of the distance to resolving this issue.

Table 2: **Logistical regression analysis of the effect of; *column A*) age, gender and time, rank and training allocation in 1986 - traditional private sector unskilled manual and routine non-manual employees on career outcomes in 1990; *column B*) as above with sector - traditional private sector and public sector employees. Logit coefficients. Variables not entered: rank I, men, under 50 years of age, private sector. All employees under 67 years in 1990.**

	A	B
CONSTANT	-2.8936**	-2.7527**
Rank	.8567	.7037
Gender and time:		
Women, full-time	1.0936	.9129
Women, part-time	-1.1775	-.8190
Age:		
50 years or above	.3723	.0634
Training	1.2515*	1.3221**
Sector	-	-1.5289
-2 Log-likelihood	121.060	146.363
Model chi-square	21.713**	22.696**
N	185	241

**p<.01 *p<.05

Table 2 comprises persons who were either unskilled manual or routine non-manual employees in 1986 and who were under the age of 67 in 1990. Because of the private leisure sector's training impoverished status employees within this sector have been excluded from the sample. The dependent variable, formal enskilled status, is derived from a distinction between three possible 1990 career outcomes: *i)* formal enskilling resulting in upward mobility to either of the functionary ranks, *ii)* continued non-functionary status, or *iii)* sector departure. As the focus of analysis is upward mobility we have dichotomized the three 1990 outcomes with promotion to ranks IV or V constituting the one value and the two alternative outcomes forming the other.

The question is then whether the increasing volume of training targeted at ranks I and III by employers is to be regarde as having an enskilling function. Column A in Table 2 indicates that this would appear to be the case. While controlling for those factors that in 1986 influenced allocation within the private sector, age, gender and time, and rank, training can be seen to have a significant effect on promotion to functionary levels. Training of low level employees thus results in significant formal enskilling, a finding that contradicts the neo-Marxist assumption. Moreover, the table would also seem to indicate that it is training and training alone that directly determines any promotion from the increasingly training rich ranks of unskilled manual and routine non-manual employees. That is while the other factors in the table affect training allocation, their direct impact on promotion is negligible. Thus, to reiterate, within the context of our model it is training that is the only direct causal antecendent of formal upgrading from the unskilled ranks of private enterprises. Furthermore, when we examine the -2 Log-likelihood statistic we observe that it has a significance level greater than p.05 indicating that our model does not differ significantly from the "perfect model". In other words despite the fact that only the training variable achieves statistical significance the model provides a powerful account of the processes that generate promotion from the unskilled ranks to the functionary ranks. This constitutes a further testimony to the potent upgrading effect of the training that is allocated by private employers to their unskilled ranks.

Our sample of public sector employees is too limited to permit a separate analysis, but when we, as in Column B, graft it to the private sector sample it may be observed that the general picture is substantially unaltered. Training retains its status as a significant determinant of formal enskilling in terms of upward mobility. That Column B indicates that the public sector in relation to the private sector significantly limits promotion from its unskilled ranks is not directly relevant to our study other than it may be construed as supporting our earlier supposition that the private sector is increasingly flexible in relation to the public sector.

Conclusions

i) The private sector

As applied to employer financed training the neo-Marxist degrading thesis does not appear to be borne out within the private sector. Firstly, it seems that the general expansion in training expenditure during the previous decade was strongest amongst unskilled manual and routine nonmanual employees, and secondly, the training that is received by these ranks is evidently aimed at more than simply inculcating limited skills for the execution of repetitive tasks. Indeed our findings indicate that training is a decisive enskilling factor for both of these ranks in that it is strongly associated with selection for formal upgrading to the functionary ranks. However, we should be wary of accepting the upgrading thesis with its liberal perspective on mobility. Clearly, selection for core-employee status as defined by the allocation of training is by no means evenly distributed amongst low level employees. The data indicate that older employees and female part-time employees tend to be excluded, thus forming significant pockets of employees who are effectively precluded from gaining to access to the upgrading process. In this relative sense the developments in private sector employment may be regarded as being bipolarised.

Furthermore, our analysis of the private sector suggests that the nascent leisure services sector which has become so much a feature of the American and British post-industrial economies provides definably limited opportunities for skills enhancement. Thus if one accepts that training is an indicator of upgrading it would seem reasonable to refer to this sector as the degraded sector. To date though in the Norwegian context the leisure services sector is of a relatively limited size, the authorities having invested heavily in non-market solutions such as early retirement, training schemes, expanded educational opportunities and public sector jobs. Sceptics might argue, particularly in view of Sweden's recent experiences, that this is a line of resistance that cannot be maintained indefinitely so that one might in future expect the emergence of considerably larger private leisure services sector. Certainly, there is currently little that would indicate that the traditional private sector in its pursuit of ever more refined forms of rationalization is going to provide the jobs of the future. Thus should there occur a scaling down of government labour market intervention an emergent leisure services sector would further contribute to a bipolarisation of the private sector.

Finally, we must also view our findings in a broader perspective that takes into account contractions within the traditional private sector particularly amongst unskilled employees. Low level employees may well be receiving more training, but on the other hand there are fewer of them. Thus as our revised bipolarisation thesis would have it, upgrading is going on in tandem with degrading in the extended sense of job-loss.

ii) The public sector & private leisure services

Although the debate on changes in employment has primarily concerned developments in the private sector, particularly industry, because of its importance as an employer in Norway we felt compelled to include the public sector in our analysis. One primary finding is that its development in terms of training is distinct from that of the private sector. As we observed, developments in mean training rates would indicate that the public sector is driven by a logic that differs from that of the market exposed private sector. Whereas growth in training ground to a halt in the private sector in 1986 in the wake of the economic down-turn, it continued to expand in the protected public sector. This public sector logic we have argued is a product of the high level of professionalization in the public sector with the professional levels exerting an influence on their organizations for their continuing education. Thus whereas the evidence would appear to indicate that the private sector has been compelled by its environment to pursue training strategies that contribute to flexibility, the public sector, under no such pressure, remains comparatively firmly wedded to hierarchical models of human resource management. In line with this, as we noted, opportunities for promotion to the functionary ranks from the unskilled ranks of the public sector are significantly inferior to those of the private sector. However, it must also be acknowledged that training in the public sector, limited as it is, is an important key to the slight formal upgrading of unskilled public sector employees that does occur.

While rank has an important impact on training allocation in the public sector, age, unlike in the private sector, does not appear to have ever featured as a consideration in the allocation of its training. Against the backdrop of the pressures towards early retirement in the private sector during the 1980s, this lack of ageism in public sector training allocation might be construed as yet another indicator of its protected status. Turning to the other ascriptive feature included in our analysis, gender, its absence as a determinant of training amongst full-time employees in either sector must be off set against the significant lack of training accorded to part-time female employees throughout the period. Given that over three quarters of part-time employees in 1988 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1989) were women and that these were primarily located within the public health and social services sector (Bjorklund, 1991), gender clearly has a substantial, albeit indirect, influence on training allocation in the public sector. Thus, we would argue that our findings on training allocation indicate the essentially bifurcated nature of the public sector with its predominantly male professional and managerial elites who have maintained their hold on training allocation on the one hand and its expanding armies of marginal female part-time workers characterized by their lack of access to training on the other. In this sense, and bearing in mind the enduring importance of rank for training allocation and the relative lack of upward mobility, it might be further argued that it is ironically within the public sector that Braverman's degrading thesis would seem most applicable. However, whereas Braverman was preoccupied with class, our findings indicate that it is gender that is the dynamic behind this wave of neo-proletarianisation.

Notes

1. See for example "Every Worker's Right to Training" (1992) in which Bill Morris, General Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union, argues that the right to five days' training a year for his membership would enhance their earning potential and chance of job satisfaction.

2. As Gordon (1972) indicates, the rationale of the dual labour market theory is geared to explain not change in the distribution of jobs between the primary and secondary labour markets, but the infrequency of such change. According to dual labour market theory change of this kind is rare because it usually involves a transformation of the techniques of production and management of such an order that the status quo is invariably deemed preferable.

3. According to NHO, the Norwegian employers' federation, a net total of 68,000 jobs in industry disappeared in the period 1987-92.

4. E.g. the number of students at the University of Trondheim increased by some 70% from 9,000 in 1986 to 15,000 to 1992. This level of expansion is by no means exceptional for the Norwegian higher education sector.

5. Customer sensitivity as an actual demand of the job is particularly recent to Scandinavia. It first entered public consciousness little more than ten years ago when the Scandinavian airline, SAS, sent its cabin and other front-line personnel on what it termed as "smile" courses. Controversial as this demand was at the time the quality of service is now increasingly accorded importance. For example, the restuarant correspondents of the Norwegian press now invariably make a point of commenting on it, awarding it stars on an equal footing with those it awards to the quality of the food.

6. In support of this contention we would point out that post-Weberian organization theory suggests that the bureaucratic form of organization is more a feature of organizations operating in stable environments where product reliability is more important than innovation (Burns, 1963; Handy, 1981).

7. This is borne out in Gullichsen's (1992) analysis of training in the Norwegian communes in which she finds that training is overwhelmingly geared to meeting employees' professional needs rather than the communes' purported strategic goals.

8. In 1985 40% of working women with a child/children under three years of age were in full-time employment as opposed to 36% in 1978.

9. Work-related training or education that is conducted outside of normal working-hours is categorized separately by the survey.

10. Of all the sectors investigated by the consultants West Norway Engineering A/S in 1985 on behalf of the regional labour market authorities, banking was the sector where increasing competency demands and task ugrading were most in evidence. They found for example that clerical staff were being offered retraining for administrative functions. Presumably these observations stem from the large numbers of routine tasks that were in the process of vanishing as a consequence of the computerization that Dahl (1985) observed. Such "process redesign" was also very much apparent in the retail trade.

11. OECD figures for Norwegian GDP, cited in *The Economist* (1993), show how the Norwegian economy plunged into negative growth in 1988 followed thereafter by growth of under half the OECD average.

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GENERAL QUALIFICATION IN DANISH ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMMES

Background

The history and content of the debate on qualification in Denmark is quite different depending on whether the discussion has concerned the general educational system or adult vocational training programmes.

There has never been any doubt within the adult vocational training programmes that the primary objective was vocational qualification, that is developing qualifications to be used on the labour market. For this reason the questions have had to do with the type of qualifications that were needed and in recent years there has been increasing focus on general qualifications.

This article takes up the issues of how the adult vocational training programmes (AMU) in their various ways deal with this and the way in which the Adult Education Research Group at Roskilde University is involved in this work. What are general qualifications? How can they be learned? What does this require of the instruction and the teachers?

By working with these questions the AMU system is trying to maintain its position on the Danish labour market as a state financed arrangement that meets needs that the two sides of industry can agree on. In our opinion there is good reason for this when viewed in the light of a number of new tendencies within a more internationally oriented training philosophy in the business world.

There is a growing recognition here of the fact that the staff of the company comprise a central planning resource and there are many examples of the necessity to think of qualification and job development as an entity. For example "The learning organisation" has become a concept that is being worked with on the international level (e.g. in Eurotecnet, an EC institution). In this the focus is on the (often overlooked) potential of the staff: choice of technology and market potential are placed second in relation to this.

To us, this starting point, although excellent in many ways, contains the problem that it maintains what is company-specific. Advocates of this system claim that the public education systems of the different Member States are too inefficient and bureaucratic to be able to complete this development. Instead the companies that share a common interest in developing human resources are urged to be responsible for developing a national and European model of development concerning educational policy and strategy (Stahl et al, 1993, p.6).

These development tendencies cement the working and life perspective of the staff in relation to the company and favour a feeling of community in relation to the company rather than in relation to colleagues. Human resources are indeed to be developed and utilised freely, but only within the framework that the company can honour.

On the other side is the Danish educational and training system where at present there is quite different work in progress on the development of personal and human resources and where current trade-union strategy concerning "good and fulfilling work" contains the possibility for breaking with existing structures of production.

The traditions that the Danish educational system is built on are quite different from those of most other European countries. We have something different to offer if the objective is to place the individual at the centre of his/her own development - if we maintain the experience and perspectives that are beginning to be accepted in the adult vocational training programmes.

General Qualification of Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers

In Denmark adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers were started in 1960 at a time of full employment when the insufficient mobility and level of qualification of unskilled and semi-skilled workers had become a limitation for continued increase of productivity. The State had to lend a hand and a scheme was established that was extremely advantageous for the labour market.

The short adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, specific to the line of industry, are operated and controlled in common by the parties on the labour market. However, the State finances both expenses for training and wages at the level of unemployment benefit for workers while they are attending a course. Thus the training can function as a State-financed "placement" of the work-force for short periods of time with temporary decrease in the volume of work available at the individual company. (For a more detailed description of the Danish Adult Vocational Training System, AMU, cf. Ministry of Labour 1993 or Danish Labour Market Authority 1993).

Within each line of industry, adult vocational training courses consist of a number of basic courses and a system of more specialised courses. The individual courses usually consist of one or more week-long modules which, as a rule, are of 1-3 weeks' duration, in a few exceptional cases as long as 7 weeks.

From 1978, following a number of trials during the 1970s, it was decided that "general subjects" covering 2 weeks in all should be included in the basic courses of the different lines of industry. Each line of industry may select the general subjects from a list that today includes: labour market conditions and relations, co-operation, technological change, industrial economics, the working environment, memoranda and forms, arithmetic and trade-related mathematics, fire protection, first aid, social legislation. The subjects are general in the sense that they are labour-market oriented and cross over the lines of industry.

General subjects were primarily introduced under pressure from the Danish Federation of Semi-Skilled Workers (SID) which has placed increasingly high priority on upgrading the qualifications of its members. The instruction was to be carried out by technical teachers following a brief supplementary course; however, more and more "teachers of general subjects" appeared at the schools for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and gradually the general subjects achieved a quite peripheral, isolated and low status in the system and among the participants.

This is the background for the establishment of a working group in 1987 whose task it was to examine the status of the general subjects and make proposals for changes. In its work the group included a number of accessible qualification analyses of areas of work traditionally served by unskilled and semi-skilled workers and discovered that all analyses pointed especially to the rising need for "general qualifications".

However, these general qualifications had more to do with what were termed "personal qualities", (e.g. responsibility, flexibility, analytical ability, independence), than the type of qualification of which general subjects are the expression. In the view of the group, such personal qualities could best be enhanced by means of changes in the pedagogical organisation of the training course; in this connection the form of project work or project teaching was especially identified as a possibility. (AMU Directorate 1988).

The report of the group culminated in a proposal concerning initiation of a number of trials both in the adult vocational training courses and in teacher training. The key word "project work" was, not least, a contributory factor to the National Labour Market Authority contacting the Adult Education Research Group at Roskilde University with a view to co-operation. In brief it was to especially concern the way in which personal qualities of the type mentioned could be enhanced and developed at the short, specific courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers alongside professional qualifications.

Thus we were faced with a concretization and a practical challenge in an area which has had a central position since the beginning of the 1970s in more theoretical research concerning development of societal qualification requirements and within the area of vocational pedagogy (Olesen 1989, Andersen et al 1989, Illeris 1992).

The practical measures in which we have been involved include development, implementation and evaluation of adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, development and implementation of teacher training courses in project teaching and in an integrated area of general subjects concerning conditions at the place of work and on the labour market as well as drawing up new framework plans and pedagogical guidelines for instruction (Kjarsgaard 1993).

From the point of view of research this work has manifested itself in three large mutually dependent problem areas with which we have constantly worked as a sort of research parallel to the practical work and for which we received a large grant to work on from March 1992 as points of focus in an independent research project:

- in the first place, developing adequate and theoretically well-founded definitions and concepts concerning general qualifications in general, and in particular as regards unskilled and semi-skilled workers;

- in the second place how to organise and conduct teaching which in an appropriate manner, and a manner that the participants find satisfactory, is able to develop such qualifications;
- in the third place, how teachers whose basis is that of professional training and career can be put in a position where they can develop and conduct such teaching themselves.

In addition to this is the factor that our involvement in both the practical work of development and relevant research increasingly involves us as suppliers of input to the more general, political, decision-making processes in the area.

What are General Qualifications?

The research project includes seven members of the Adult Education Research Group whose wide-ranging qualifications span the fields of pedagogy, psychology, sociology, organisation and communication. We started out by each writing an article based on our various, different approaches to the subject and we then began to scrutinise the conceptual apparatus that has to do with general qualifications. This gave rise to a series of analyses and discussions that in turn led to considerably more than the mere technical clarification of terminology that we had originally imagined. The work resulted in the book entitled, "Qualifications and Living Beings" (Andersen et al 1993: an English translation of the central sections of the book is in progress). The main topics taken up in this book are:

- clarification and definition of basic concepts in qualification research;
- an account of the development in qualification theory since the beginning of the 1970s, in particular in (West) Germany and Denmark;
- an account of a number of selected Danish qualification analyses since 1985;
- developing a search model for use in connection with analysing and planning qualifications and qualification measures;
- an exemplification of the search model applied to different areas;

- an analysis and discussion of the concept of general qualification against this background.

Central to the book is the development of the search model that has to do with subjectivity viewed in the perspective of qualification. The background to this approach can be briefly described as follows.

Qualification has to do with developing qualifications. Where this perspective has hitherto been included when training and other qualification measures have been planned, the point of departure has usually been in qualification analyses, i.e. analyses of qualification requirements within a specific area of utilisation. Only then has there been an investigation of how to develop the desired qualifications by means of targeted training or similar measures.

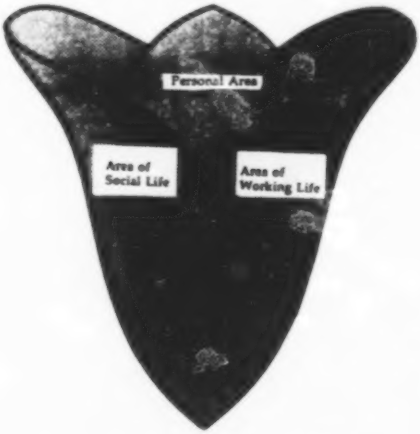
This procedure has tended to overlook the fact that an attempt is being made to develop qualifications in living beings who not only have professional qualifications as such. They also have a number of experiences, interests, opinions, patterns of action, preferences, aversions, blocks etc., the whole complex of contradictory, active individual structure we call subjectivity, which is in constant development in the individual in continual interaction with the physical, social and societal surroundings.

Qualification is part of this interaction which always takes place in the meeting between the subjectivity that has been developed at any point in time and the influences it meets with in its surroundings. For this reason qualification cannot be understood and dealt with on the basis of qualification requirements alone and the training measures or strategies for influence derived from these. A correct way of tackling the situation must include simultaneous focus on subjectivity and influences.

We have tried to maintain this in our search model by taking our point of departure in subjectivity and seeing which essentially different areas it moves in as regards influences that are important for qualification. In our society we have the area of working life, the basic feature of which is the demand for increase of value: we also have the rest of existence which we call the field of social life where the requirement for increase of value does not have this structuring function. The area of social life could also be further divided into, for example, a private sphere and a public sphere. However, we have not done this in order to avoid making the model too complicated. The most important thing is to distinguish between where the requirement for increase of value has a structural force and where it does not.

On the other hand we have introduced a third, somewhat different, area: the personal area. It is the case that in interaction with the surroundings there will always be something that is "relevant to the case", relating to something that the interaction is dealing with. But to a greater or lesser degree there will also be something that affects the individual as a person. This may be more or less profound, directly challenge the person's identity, or perhaps "merely" appeal to such personal qualities as responsibility, creativity or the like. For this reason, one might say a little schematically that even though we are only operating with two contemporary spaces for the interaction, there are three spaces of experience in the subjectivity. We have tried to illustrate this in the figure of "The Tulip".

Subjectivity viewed in the perspective of qualification
I "The Tulip"



Two spaces for interaction / three spaces of experience

The other dimension that is part of our search model has to do with different levels of subjectivity. In the personal area these levels may be characterised as "depths". While personal identity lies deep in all of us and does not change so easily, a situation can make a more immediate appeal to, for instance, responsibility. In the other areas the levels have more to do with specificity, learning processes and transferability: learning a certain technique or a word in a foreign language is something quite limited; to understand the principles of the periodic system in chemistry although more complicated, is useful in many connections; making up

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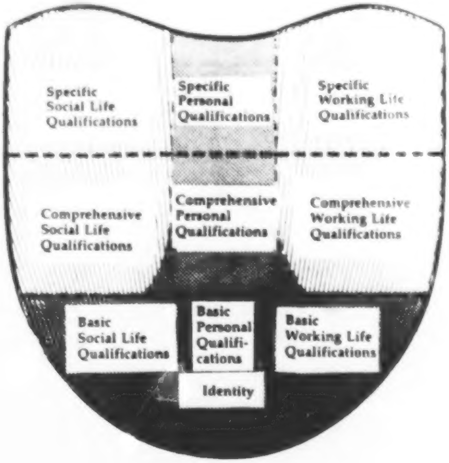
your mind about foreign workers is complicated in quite a different manner that has to do with the basic societal attitudes of the individual.

As mentioned before, in the search model we work with three areas in the interaction of the subjectivity with the surroundings. For each of these areas we have also defined three levels: the basic, the comprehensive and the specific. In this way the search model has nine fields to which processes of qualification can be related and within which qualifications can be developed. The borders between the nine fields are not sharp and the criteria for delimitation are based on different kinds of dimensions. The model is illustrated by the figure of "The Map".

Subjectivity viewed in the perspective of qualification
II. "The Map"


Specific Social Life Qualifications
Specific Personal Qualifications
Specific Working Life Qualifications
Comprehensive Social Life Qualifications
Comprehensive Personal Qualifications
Comprehensive Working Life Qualifications
Basic Social Life Qualifications
Basic Personal Qualifi-cations
Basic Working Life Qualifications
Identity

Nine fields to which processes of qualification can be related and within which qualifications can be developed - no sharp borders.

The search model makes no attempt to postulate that subjectivity in fact looks like this: it should be understood far more pragmatically. In our opinion it provides some appropriate classifications for understanding and discussing qualification processes - a model and some categories that show the great breadth and some important contexts which maintain that it is not just labour but living people who are bearers of qualifications and which should more point to the complexity of the problems than be the basis for quick solutions. We try to demonstrate this in the book by means of some brief examples.

General Qualification through Education

One of the conclusions in the above-mentioned report from the National Labour Market Authority (AMU Directorate 1988) was that the required strengthening of the general qualifications could best be promoted by introducing the form of project teaching to the adult vocational training courses to the extent that it was possible. It was, however, clear that using project teaching might pose particular problems: because of the relatively weak school background of the participants; because of technical teachers' lack of training in this area; and finally because of the relatively short duration of the courses.

It was precisely with a view to introducing the form of project teaching that the Adult Education Research Group was involved in the work. We are able to draw on both many years of theoretical-methodological experience and on practical experience with using this form in a number of different training courses and lines of education including vocational training (Illeris 1991).

We started in the winter of 1988-89 with some practical experiments, implemented in selected traditional courses in cooperation with some selected AMU technical teachers. Since then a great number of highly varied experiments have been carried out by technical teachers within all the branches of the AMU in connection with a series of teacher training courses which we have organized.

The first and most fundamental general result of these experiments has been the establishment of the fact that it is indeed possible to work meaningfully with the project form within the current framework conditions on the adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Moreover, in the great majority of cases the participants evaluate this form of work as more satisfactory and committing. As a rule the teachers find that it provides better learning processes and results and they are often surprised at how much the participants can manage on their own when they are given the opportunity. However, it must be emphasized that in the case of both teachers and participants these are completely subjective evaluations and there have not been resources available for further investigations in this area.

Furthermore, as in other areas of education, some methodological experiences have emerged as to how the form of project teaching can most suitably be adapted to the special conditions of the adult vocational training courses for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

In the first place, in these adult vocational training courses, the written problem formulation drawn up by the participants - one of the most crucial elements in the more bookish and academic training lines of education, can more suitably take the form of a project introduction which has the character of a motivated plan for the project.

Other experiences indicate the importance of a brief introductory phase that involves the participants actively, the closest possible connection between the practical and theoretical work, regular stocktaking as a support in the participant directed course, as well as a serious final discussion involving the practical contents, the process and the personal benefit.

The fact that the participants are satisfied with the course of the project is, however, not the same as saying that it also leads to a strengthening of the general qualifications and especially the development of the above-mentioned personal qualities that were the reason for utilizing this form of teaching. On the basis of our experience so far, we have tentatively drawn up the following three conditions which, as a minimum, must be met if the personal qualities are to be developed:

- firstly, the personal qualities must be included in the teaching. This must take place in connection with the problems that the participants experience as relevant in their work situation in the wide sense and which are simultaneously of personal importance for them.
- secondly, these qualities (such as independence, ability to cooperate, and sense of responsibility) must be challenged during the course by means of situations and influences that reach beyond the level of the daily routine and the usual, habitual ideas.
- thirdly, the experiences must be made conscious by the individual participant.

These three conditions, which can be fulfilled by means of the pedagogical organization and implementation of the projects, must be regarded as necessary prerequisites if the desired development is to take place. But it cannot be concluded as a matter of course that these conditions are sufficient. What is being planned is personal development processes, the course of which for the individual will always also be decided by a number of conditions that extend far beyond the current pedagogical field. On the more general level, these personal conditions first and foremost have to do with the following:

- whether the individual participant in the situation in question displays a readiness to engage him or herself in such a process of development;
- whether the person in question experiences that he/she can get something subjectively important and valuable out of becoming engaged in the process of development;
- whether a space of action exists for the individual at the place of work or within the horizon of future job opportunities where changed readiness can find expression and achieve meaning.

Or put more directly: if the individual does not experience that the development of personal qualities that is aimed at in the teaching can have any real meaning for his or her situation and work opportunities, it is unlikely that even the best planned project teaching can make him/her show the commitment that is a necessary prerequisite for crossing boundaries with regard to personal qualities.

On the other hand, as a working hypothesis one can reasonably draw up an inverted rule of thumb: if relevant activities are offered in the teaching and if the individual experiences that he/she can become qualified here in a personally satisfying way, then the possibility also exists of achieving development of the relevant personal qualities.

Such a view of these activities is also of importance for us from the point of view of the ethics of research. It puts into perspective the possibilities for manipulative personality development in the interest of the employer, trade and industry or society that the problem about the general qualifications can imply. If the demands about the acceptance and conscious approval of the individual are taken seriously, in principle such manipulation is blocked.

Finally it should be pointed out that although we have found it both possible and meaningful to work with these issues within the existing framework of the adult vocational training courses, it is clear that these possibilities could be significantly improved through changes in the framework conditions.

The AMU System has started to do this in many areas. This takes place partly through a project where the emphasis is on description of abilities rather than subject matter which replaces the former detailed guidance material for the implementation of the courses, and leaves the detailed planning of the courses to the individual AMU Training Centres, the teachers and the participants. It also takes place through a very comprehensive further training course for the teachers.

The next and very important step which is being started up with experiments within individual lines of industry will be longer, coherent courses which can provide important new pedagogical possibilities not least for the work with the general qualifications.

Teachers' Training Courses

In the area of teacher training we have been involved in a series of further training courses in project teaching and in some experimental courses that aim to provide relatively new AMU teachers with a coherent qualification to teach within the general subject areas of labour market conditions, the working environment, cooperation, social legislation, technological change and industrial economics.

Our most important practical-methodological experience in this area has resided in the value of systematically planning a process of interaction for the teachers between course participation, trying out in practice the benefit gained from the courses in their own teaching, and working on the experiences thus gained at the next course, sometimes as an introduction to yet another process of interaction.

Naturally this type of process is not new (even though it is used much too seldom). But by combining it with the form of project work so that the introductory project phases are in the course, implementation in the teacher's own practice and presentation, evaluation and supplementary work again at a course we have achieved good results within the narrow time framework that has existed.

In another AMU connection we have had a completely different framework and therefore opportunities to take part in a teacher-training course with a more far-reaching perspective. This is the so-called P 47 project, a one-year training course with a combination of general and specialist subjects aimed at unemployed women and based on a high degree of participant direction and project teaching and including trainee periods (Danish Labour Market Authority 1992).

The teacher training course has been integrated in this large-scale, pioneer project of pedagogical development. This has been the source of breadth and depth in the process of qualification and has often led to personal steps forward that only rarely are achieved in connection with more limited course activities.

A further perspective in this connection would be to make the rather comprehensive teacher training courses, which must take place in a system where the teachers recruited have no pedagogical background, approximate to the experiences of the P 47 project. This could, for instance, take place through some sort of coordination of specialist, general and pedagogical further training where the teachers become engaged in pedagogical development activities chosen by themselves. Developments at present within the AMU System would actually seem to indicate steps in this direction which can open exciting new perspectives.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK AND THE LEARNING PROCESS IN ADULT EDUCATION

Abstract

The article discusses the content and form in continuing education. The discussion will attach special importance to the connection between education of the workforce and the development in some Danish municipalities.

The article is based on a research among seven different courses for people in work. The seven courses are very different, but they do have one thing in common: All of them are experimental in either their content and form or in the way the course is organized. The article will examine advantages and disadvantages connected with the different courses.

Among other things the article will argue that it is necessary to take the participants immediate superior into consideration when planning the course - if not, the learning process will very often stop as soon as the participants return to their jobs.

Background

In the last decade profound chances has been going on within the public authorities in Denmark.

The public sector has been criticized for being too big, too expensive and too bureaucratic. It has been said that it is ineffective and not flexible enough. For years it has lived a life of its own, by its own rules in its own very closed organization.

The public authorities have to be more service-orientated in order to live up to the demands of todays society. Therefore the relationship between public authority and the citizens has been brought into focus.

Parallel with this development the demand for continuing education has arisen immensely. And in addition to that there is a big demand for developing new forms of continuing education.

Continuing education has got a new status: Learning is no longer seen primarily as an individual matter - education is regarded as an important precondition for a successful development in the public sector. In short: continuing education is the most important tool in employee policy in the nineties.

Being the public authorities face to the outside world the personnel with a short educational background play an important role in modernizing the public sector. And consequently there is a demand for educational research and innovation within continuing education for especially employee with a short educational background.

In general outlines this development has taken place in all the Nordic countries. In Norway, for instance, one speaks of a development going from an administration culture to a service culture.

The article is to be read in light of this development.

New methods in continuing education

The article is based on a research into seven different projects within continuing education in Danish municipalities. The research is conducted by Research Centre for Adult Education in association with the Committee of Continuing Education within the National Association of Local Authorises in Denmark (Kommunernes efteruddannelses Udvalg under Kommunernes Landsforening).

The research is based on results from questionnaires covering all the participants at the projects as well as interviews with teachers, educational advisers, union representatives and representatives among the participants.

The seven projects have persons with a short educational background as their target group, and all of the projects are breaking new grounds being experimental in either form or content.

The projects chosen for the research all serve the following purposes:

- to give back the will to learn to employees who have got bad experiences with the school system and no motivation to learn,
- to encourage learning styles that promote the benefit from the courses,
- to give ideas to educational methods in adult education.

The following personnel groups are represented in the research: employees within the health service, cleaning staff, home helpers, administrative personnel and assistant kindergarten teachers.

This article will concentrate on the questions: How does the in-service training apply to the job? Will the participants be able to use what they have learned when they return to their place of work?

Continuing education - part of the municipal development?

As previous mentioned, continuing education is often seen as a tool in the hands of a development process.

The qualifications needed are to some extent vocational qualifications (e.g. specific knowledge within a computer system). But what is most essential is for each participant to gain general and personal qualifications - e.g. the ability to communicate and cooperate with colleagues, analytical abilities, creativity, independence, self-confidence, responsibility, flexibility etc.

The training programmes mostly consist of a combination of vocational and general qualifications with special emphasis on the general qualifications.

The municipalities send their employees of to continuing education expecting that the participants will push the desired development forward when returning from the courses with new knowledge and inspiration.

But reality is often different. The place of work seldom distinguish between the qualifications needed in the municipality and the need for supplementary training of the workforce. Whereas the participants do not see this connection between work and education very clearly. When asking the participants what they thought was the purpose of the course we were often met with comments like:

I am not quite sure, but I think the trade union has got something to do with it.
or
I really don't know - perhaps they had some money left for educational purposes.

As a rule-of-thumb the more the course was aiming to give general and personal qualifications the harder it was for the participants to see the connection to the work situation.

The conclusion so far is therefor that the connection between work and continuing education mainly exists within the higher levels of the educational system. And that this is especially true as far as general and personal qualifications are concerned.

Teaching method in continuing education

In the research we distinguish between three different types of training programmes:

- continuing education which attaches importance to vocational qualifications,
- continuing education which aims to change attitudes,
- continuing education which attaches importance to the general and personal qualifications.

In the first type we find mostly instructional teaching methods. In the second and third type we find learning styles which are more process-orientated: Often the courses are based on projects which - in the main - are chosen by the participants themselves. This makes it possible to utilize the participants' own experiences and abilities.

The actual work with the projects usually takes place within minor groups. During this process each group works rather independently using the teacher as their consultant.

The learning style in these courses are often based on the principal of learning-by-doing, and as a consequence of that the education often obtains a close connection between practical and theoretical work.

Resistance to learning

Speaking of resistance to learning educational research sometimes uses the term Matthews Effect: the ones who have already got a higher education do not hesitate when offered more education, whereas resistance to learning is often found among the ones with a short educational background.

This research however, indicates that the problem might be less predominant than expected. The participants from the research all have a short educational background. Still the vast majority of them have a positive attitude towards the courses in question and towards continuing education in general.

A considerable proportion of the participants state that attending the course has changed their attitude towards continuing education in a positive direction.

This taken into consideration the research project suggests that (at least) the following teaching methods prove successful in reducing resistance to learning:

- The curriculum subject is no longer there for its own sake. Instead the content of the courses are determined by the over-all purpose of the course. One could say that the learning process takes place while teaching with the subject - as opposed to teaching in the subject.
- During the courses the participants experience again and again that they gain small victories because they accomplish to find solutions to the problems they are working with. This feeling of overcoming difficulties and thereby conquering ones own weaknesses will inevitably weaken the previous experiences of being defeated in the school system.
- The fact that the courses are based on a very close connection between theory and praxis makes it easier for the participants to see the direct use of what they learn.
- The problem- and project-orientated learning styles have proven successful with this target group.
- The learning setting gives the participants a reassuring feeling. Partly because the social aspect plays a key role, and partly because the physical surroundings do not revive memories of the traditional school class. On the contrary, the physical

surroundings are often arranged according to the project of the course. In other words: an alternative learning setting is created - a setting which typically has more in common with the place of work than with the traditional school class.

The teaching methods mentioned above have this in common that the education takes place in a way that does not remind the participants of the school-situation they know from when they were kids - a situation which often brings back memories of defeat.

On the job learning

A close connection between education and work can be sought in several ways. This research points to the fact that good results can be obtained using in-plant training.

The connection between education and work can become closer by means of:

- letting the participants shift between educational periods and periods of work. This structure makes it possible for the participants to try their newly achieved knowledge in practice and in a familiar situation.
- letting the participants stay at their place of work during the whole course. That is to say the education has to move into where the participant are - not the other way around.
- putting together a class where some of the participants know each other beforehand.
- using internal teachers who will have a good feeling for what kind of knowledge is needed for the group of participants in question.
- working with subjects and projects in such a way that the everyday working process is never far away.

Returning to the place of work

Seen from an educational point of view even the best courses in the research have a weak spot in their ability to be used at the place of work.

The problem arises partly because the participants take part in two different social systems: An educational system where you are together with the primary purpose to learn and where the teacher is in charge. And a work environment where you are together with the primary purpose is to work. Add to this that the work environment is only an element in a more comprehensive system where the management is carried out at different levels.

It is in the interaction between these two systems the implementation problem arises. It is difficult to transfer knowledge and bring it into action because the two systems often are too far apart and know too little about one another.

Belonging to the educational system the teacher, for instance, is seldom in a position where he can keep a close contact to participants work environment.

It will come as no surprise that when the participants return to their place of work things are usually very much the same as when they left for the course.

When planning the supplementary training the municipalities usually have great expectations of the future development. But when it comes to the point the ideas are often considerably ahead of the actual development leaving very little room for the participants to actually use their newly achieved knowledge.

Some of the explanation to the apparent unwillingness to changes can be found among the participants immediate superior who are very likely to see their fellow colleagues as a threat to their own job. The participants new qualifications become a threat and will therefor often be oppressed.

One of the participants describes the situation like this:

When we just returned from the course we were in high spirits, had a lot of energy and a strong will to change things. This enthusiastic atmosphere lasted exactly two coffee breaks then everything was back to normal again.

Implementation problems

The problems concerning implementation are very difficult to solve. Below we will put forward three elements which have an influence on the implementation problems:

- It is important that the work is organized in a way that makes room for the employees to structure their own work - and that way giving them the possibility to use their newly acquired qualifications.
- It is important that the participants get some support from their colleagues when they return to their place of work. In practice this means that the participants immediate superior and colleagues become part of the educational process. Being informed and interested in the education they will be inclined to meet the participants with an open mind.
- It is important that the management at the place of work has got the ability to handle the complicated situation of managing the work and at the same time creating a setting where the learning process can continue at the place of work.

Conclusion

Taking the managements viewpoint our conclusion is that one of the most important obstacles to overcome has got to do with how to implement what has been learned. In our opinion this fundamental educational question plays a far more important role today than that of resistance to learning (which has preciously been considered one of the main problems).

In our point of view the actual success of continuing education depends as much on how effective the participants' qualifications can be brought into action as on what has actually been learned.

Therefore it is necessary to work systematically with the question of implementation. It is not enough only to see implementation as something that preferably follows the courses. It has to be an important built-in part of continuing education.

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HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, LEARNING AND STRUCTURAL TRANSITION IN WORKING LIFE

This presentation will discuss some preliminary findings and results from an ongoing research project at the Department of Education, University of Lund. The title of the project is Human Resource Development as a Strategy of Change - Competence Development in ten Companies.

The aim of the project is to illuminate and analyze the role and character of Human Resource Development within a context of structural transition in work places, by comparative studies of ten major swedish companies. This article will mainly discuss the change in qualitative content of HRD activities, related to the role and function of HRD within structural transition in working life.

The concept Human Resource Development (HRD) is here given a broad definition, including any measure taken or organized activity in a work place, to promote learning and development among employees.This article emphasizes the formal side of Human Resource Development, by looking at planned and formalized acitvities. We are deliberately leaving out discussions of not formalized activities, which would comprise phenomenas as on-the-job-learning, tacit knowledge, learned helplessness, etc. These non-formalized activities are considered to be cruical in discussions of development and learning in working life, but since the purpose of this article is to discuss the changes in, and function of HRD in relation to structural change, we will concentrate on formalized HRD activities.

Concepts such as learning, development, training, education, competence etc. are often taken for granted as something "good". The terms become implicitly normative and value-laden. A techno-instrumental approach influences most of the literature and debate from educationalists as well as trade and industry. From political parties and unions a more humanistic approach can be seen. Both of the approaches implies an underlying consensus-perspective. We consider it fruitful to look at learning and development in working life from a control-conflict perspective, since it gives us the tools to reveal and describe different interests, motives and premises involved. It is our belief that learning and development in working life is closely linked to power, domination, initiative, influence and position, which implies interest-conflicts.

Research methodology

The project is based on an empirical study of ten major swedish companies, eight from the industrial sector and two from the service sector. The companies were selected in cooperation with a reference group, consisting of the parties on the labour market. This helped us later when approaching the companies, both in getting access and legitimacy.The selection criterias was set to be companies with outspoken values of personnell as a key asset, and with functions or departments for training/HRD. The companies should also be considered as successful in coping with the structural transitions in working life. By selecting major companies with these requirements, we hoped to capture trends in HRD and work place changes, assuming big companies to be leading the development as "trendsetters".

The research method is qualitative with deep-going semistructured interviews with 10% (randomized selection) of the employees in each company. The interviews took place at work, in a separate room, on working-hours. We interviewed all cathegories of employees up to middle-management level. The average length of an interview being one and a half hours.

The questions mainly focused on changes experienced in work content, demands of new competence related to that, and the learning situation related to the changes. We also interviewed management, from super-visory level up to managing director, union representatives and employees at the HRD-departments. The questions discussed here were aiming at grasping ideas, thoughts and strategies, as well as undertaken or planned actions, concerning HRD and development of personell.

The empirical data was gathered inter-disciplinary in the sense that we were three researchers from different departments, cooperating in interviewing representants of each profession considered.This way of conducting research turned out to be fruitful for qualitative discussions of how to interprete the data afterwards. We also believe it helped us to avoid the worst biases in percieving and experiencing the complex reality of worklife.

Results

There were several major tendencies of structural transition and change in all the ten companies. Examples of this are new managerial styles, cash management, flexible specialization and market orientation along with introduction of advanced information technology. Decentralization, less hierarcical organisations and group-based work organization, as well as new salary systems and modes of internalized control were closely linked to new managerial styles and flexible production. The information technology facilitates new systems of production control. These structural changes affected the whole company considered, the work organization and the work content, in different ways and of different degree for all employees.

The preliminary results from our study supports the bipolarization thesis. The polarization between employees with more demanding and qualified jobs, and employees with routinized work, on the edge of being pushed out from the labour market, to unemployment, showed signs of increasing. The groups of employees that face the risk of unemployment are the less educated, with the most routinized tasks, part-time and shift-time workers - in this group we find many women and immigrants. This group is disadvantaged in every sense, especially since they are usually not considered for participation in a training program for a more qualified job, due to working-hours and educational background. There were marginalized groups like this in all of the eight industrial companies.

The bipolarization thesis stresses the gap between marginalized groups and groups of employees who experience change to more qualified work content and increasing demands of competence, in other words upskilling, due to the structural transition. In the following we will discuss changes in work content, demands of competence and the learning situation for this latter group. The results from our study points out that the general tendency is that work in industry is becoming more and more demanding, regardless of position, disregarding the above discussed marginalized groups on the edge of rationalization.

Concentrating on the changes in work content that leads to increasing demand of competence for groups of employees, we will give some summarized, concrete examples. The decentralized and market oriented organization affects the ordinary blue collar worker in many ways. For instance, the work content for a machine operator is often enlarged to include service of the machine and quality control of the product produced. The flexible production requires "a flexible worker" for adjustments to "lean production" in smaller series. The new wage systems with bonus related to the group performance, together with activities such as workplace meetings, group discussions of budgets, quality control etc. requires a participative, communicative employee with basic skills in reading, writing and mathematics. In the customer oriented company visiting customers at the production site is a common occurence, and workers are expected to be able to present and discuss the products and modes of production in at least one foreign language.

The work role of the shop floor manager or supervisor is another example of changes in work content and increasing demands of competence. The supervisor used to be recruited from skilled workers, and his tasks as a supervisor were to conduct and lead the everyday operative production. The work content of supervisors today has shifted to development and planning of the work and business, as well as responsibility for development and education of personell. The new managerial styles with "soft measures" and internalized control demands leadership skills and abilities. The advanced technology as such, and new systems for controlling production results, requires a supervisor with good knowledge in language, writing and reading and mathematics.

There are many more examples to be given, illuminating the increasing demand of competence related to changes in work content for different cathegories of employees. We will conclude by summarizing the major tendencies in brief.

The demand of competence is generally increasing for all groups of employees. Work organization, customer orientation, new managerial styles and new technology creates new demands of basic skills such as knowledge of foreign languages, writing, reading and mathematics. The changes in work content due to structural transition also demands communicative, cooperative and participative skills, and stresses demands of socio-affective and personality-related competence.

What are the qualitative changes of HRD in the context of strucural transition in the companies studied?

The general pattern of HRD activities in the companies are characterised by being job-related and adjustment-orientated rather than development-orientated in its content. This with an underlying instrumentalistic view of knowledge and personell. The training situations can be critized for objectification of the employee, in the sense that the individuals influence and involvement is not counted for. The integration of HRD activities in the overall work situation of the employees is often lacking. A atomistic view predominates with a disregard for a more holistic approach, despite personell policies and credos of claiming employees to be the key asset in business. Groups in favour for organized HRD are full time employees, keypersons and young people - predominantly males.

Looking at the organized activities for HRD, eg. measures taken by management and educationalists, in phases of transition and change, we can see that attention is paid to some changes and altered requirements, while others remains neglected. Demands of competence of a technical and instrumental character, eg how to handle the new machinery or computer technology, were often met by job-related, adjusted-orientated training. Demands of basic skills, eg language, reading, writing and mathematics were rarely met by HRD activities, especially at lower hierarchical levels, for example blue collar workers at the production line. The demands of socio-effective competence was often totally neglected and it was up to the employee him- or helself to try to cope with increasing demands of flexibility in daily situations of interacting, discussing and participating in the new forms of work organization that emerged. This is worth pointing out, since we consider the changes in work content which demands socio-affective competence the most widespread. In short, the HRD activities focused on meeting changes of a technical kind, with job-related, adjustment-orientated measures. At the same time, as a parallell trend, we observed that the companies invested resources in HRD activities here characterized as "campaignes". The structural transition in the companies were often accompanied by activities aimed at all groups of personell. Activities characterized by their aim to foster and create a "right thinking workforce". Illuminating examples are courses in service-mindedness, business idea, and strategy courses with readymade concepts for employees to accept. The content in these courses tended to have little to do with the actual performance of the work task, but more to do with Your performance and attitude as employee as such.

Conclusions

Analyzing this phenomenon, we can see that the HRD activities tends to focus on transmitting values, attitudes and ideologies, rather than basic skills or core competence. These HRD activities are characterized by stressing extra-functional competence, not needed for completing the work task, but implicitly demanded, to perform the "right behaviour". In this case HRD activities becomes a successful and efficient managerial tool, to promote corporate identification and loyalty among employees, as well as legitimizing change, since it provides a consensus perspective of the company as an undisputed unity. From a workers collective perspective, or a unionist perspective, this implies a weakening of the collective consciousness and horisontal solidarity among different groups of employees. In a conflict/control perspective, we can see that HRD activities of this kind can disquise and diffuse conflicts between different interest in the process of structural transition. From a pedagogical viewpoint, the content of what is called HRD and education in companies, is tending towards a shift from transmitting core competencies and qualifications, to transmitting values, attitudes and ideologies.

The "Human factor" in companies of today is often said to be the deciding factor in competitive advantage. Managerial tools to control and develop this valuable asset has become very important for the management. One of the most efficient managerial tool for control and development of employees, is education and Human Resource Development. The quality and content of HRD activities is therefore important to analyze and discuss.

II.

2nd Workshop

LABOUR MARKET POLICY, (UN)EMPLOYMENT AND ADULT EDUCATION

REPORT from the Workshop on "Labour Market Policy, (Un)employment and Adult Education"

Workshop Participants: Angela Ivančič (Slovenia), Birgitte Simonsen (Denmark), Henning Olesen (Denmark), Keith Forrester (England), Barbara Krajnc (Slovenia) and Michael Law (New Zealand; for part of the Workshop).

As with the other Workshops at the Seminar, our group shared around eight hours together during the three days.

Eight hours of intimate discussion around four papers is a luxury afforded few researchers! It was an indication of the interest and commitment to the issues raised in the discussions that the group 'ran out of time'.

At first sight, there appeared few links and theoretical concerns between the four papers. It became clear as the Workshop progressed, however, that there were a number of shared concerns and assumptions which informed the learning and research activities of the Workshop participants. Central to these concerns were the ravages and disruptions to labour market issues resulting from the drift, in some countries, and the lurch (in other countries) towards liberal economic policies in most European (and New Zealand) economies. Increasing exclusion from the labour market, either partially or fully, was posing considerable theoretical and practical problems for a variety of voluntary agencies, particularly labour organisations. Issues of gender, ethnicity and identity issues were acutely, and often brutally, cutting across the comfortable political consensus developed in the last four or five decades. The collapse of the authoritarian regimes in eastern Europe was similarly causing massive problems of dislocation and direction. For those within the labour market, crucial issues of vocational education and training symbolised not only the comparative ailing economic performance of the Western economies, but also the theoretical concerns about the nature and direction of wage labour. Within the rapid processes of change characterising labour market behaviour, 'old norms came under heavy pressure, being replaced by a state without norms in which everything was possible, and nothing was sure', as Birgitte put it in her paper.

Adult continuing education was the linking process that 'accessed' the Workshop participants to different audiences caught up in the often bewildering pace of change. Whether with trade unionists, young unemployed mothers, unemployed people or with enterprise employees, all the Workshop participants worked alongside communities attempting to survive and make sense of these changes. The experiences and links with these groups provided the impetus and shaped the concerns underpinning the research process.

At another level, though, it was not the shared theoretical concerns linking the Workshop participants that is of paramount importance. Nor were the innovative and challenging adult education practices informing the Workshop presentations of paramount importance. Rather for me, it was the opportunity to discuss in depth within a supportive context, a diverse range of research issues and problems that was of greatest value. Irrespective of whether the discussion focused on the results or implications of the research, on the methodological or conceptual problems of the research or whether the research design was adequate to the tasks, the value of the Workshop discussion was that within the small group everyone had the opportunity to critically examine the work of other colleagues. 'Learning from each other' is increasingly difficult in the busy Conference agendas of today: the seminar format adopted at Ljubljana, however, ensured that this was its paramount objective.

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LIFELONG LEARNING AND TRADE UNIONS: NOTES ON A COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT

Introduction

As this is the first meeting of the ESREA Labour Market Research network, this paper will primarily focus on an outline of four distinct, but conceptually interrelated, research areas involving the author and currently being undertaken at the Department of Adult Continuing Education at the University of Leeds. The information outlined in this paper will provide the basis for other interested ESREA colleagues to share, exchange and perhaps develop joint initiatives of a cross-national basis. A selection of publications resulting from these research areas are provided in the bibliography so that colleagues wishing additional information can contact the Department at Leeds. As an essential part of 'networking' is the identification of colleagues and research work of interest to the participants within the network, it is hoped that the notes in this paper will provide a beginning to this process of identification and sharing. The first part of the paper provides a brief overview of the Department in Leeds. A brief summary of the four research themes is outlined in the second section of the paper. The concluding section will reflect on the relationship of these research themes to the notion of 'lifelong learning'.

The Department of Adult Continuing Education (DACE)

The Department is one of the largest adult continuing education providers in Britain and has some 23 academic staff, around 9 researchers on externally funded research projects and some 23 clerical and administrative staff. There are additionally a substantial number of part-time academic staff associated with the Department who are primarily involved in courses and teaching provision. The total number of students attending DACE's courses in 1991-92 was 10,500, or the equivalent of around 700 full-time undergraduate students. Just over 15,000 teaching hours were divided between 170 sustained courses of 20 meetings or more, 183 shorter courses, 197 day and weekend courses and 20 residential courses of one week or more (Annual Report, 1991-92). The Department is a traditional English liberal adult education department (Taylor et al 1985) with the majority of its courses being non-accredited learning although this is likely to change in the years ahead as a result of changes in national government policy. Part-time degrees, Masters of Education in Adult Continuing Education and doctoral research are all increasingly important areas of current Departmental concerns. The teaching programme of the Department is organised, delivered, monitored and developed through give programme sections; these are Liberal Adult Education, Access, Community and Industrial Studies, Public Policy and part-time undergraduate degrees. The labour market research activities are located with the Community and Industrial Studies (CIS) section. Courses are organised in collaboration with a wide variety of audiences such as housing, tenants and residents organisations, women's organisations, unemployed people, black groups and trade unions. The vast majority of students attending CIS courses had left school at 16 years of age (around 80%), were unemployed (around 60%), were women (around 60%). Around one in three were from the Asian and black communities (Ward and Taylor, 1986).

Labour Market Research Projects

One of the distinctive features of the Department's work in the Industrial Studies field is its relationship with the labour organisations and their members. The origins of this close alliance results from the liberal adult education tradition over the last eighty years and the importance attached to workers education (Simon, 1990). The Department has a tradition and commitment stretching back to the early 1950s of organising 'sustained' two and three year, day-release courses for a variety of trade unionists organised directly with their trade union. The current teaching programme within CIS provides such sustained courses for mineworkers, bus drivers and public sector employees. A much larger variety of courses are provided for shop and retail employees, health workers and local government employees ranging from short workshops through to 9-10 month evening classes. Weekend schools and residential courses form an important part of the programme. A part-time degree centred on Industrial Studies and targeted specifically at trade unionists began in 1993.

The research activities outlined below reflect strongly the links and educational programmes developed with labour organisations at the regional and national level. There is a strong interrelationship between research activities, learning programmes for members and links with the trade union. Applications for research monies forwarded by the Department often include the trade unions as partners: in other instances, external funding is sought which explicitly integrates the involvement of trade unions in the research design. Unlike other European universities, adult education departments have traditionally been the only route available for trade unions to link into publicly-funded university research resources and expertise within Britain. This inequitable use of resources and expertise has strongly influenced and shaped the activities and perspectives of the Department at Leeds (and extends, of course, to other marginalised groups). As will be seen from the research projects listed below, the trade unions are centrally involved in all of the activities. These projects are:

a) **Adult Learners at Work: an analysis into Employee Development Schemes**

Funded by the University Funding Council for a two year period, the initial stage of this project has just concluded with the publication of a report (Forrester et al 1993). 'Employee Development' schemes are a recent development in Britain, and have their origins in similar initiatives developed in the USA over the last ten years (Ferman et al 1991). Employee Development refers to these workplace learning programmes, agreed between employees and employers, which focus primarily on the personal development of employees rather than job-specific training. They provide learning opportunities for substantial sections of the workforce previously excluded from job-specific training and adopt an employee-centred learning approach with a variety of learning devices available to the participants. Employee development programmes provide continuous learning opportunities and involve employees and/or their trade union in the origins and administration of the programme.

The first stages of the research focussed on an analysis of the nature and growth of such schemes and was undertaken through survey and case-study analysis. Although all the major car producers in Britain have developed such schemes, the best known example is at the Ford Motor Car Company UK where a third of the total workforce are participating in the scheme. Other examples tend to be located in the manufacturing sector although small companies, through consortium arrangements, and local authority employees had developed schemes. Research questions which will be pursued in the second phase of the research include an analysis of the industrial relations implications of these developments (undertaken with the trade unions), the development of appropriate evaluation and monitoring systems and evaluation of learning outcomes and a comparative analysis of developments between North America and Europe (Forrester et al 1993). For adult educationalists, workplace employee development initiatives contain a number of very interesting features: they will remain a focus of our attentions over the next period. At another level, Employee Development schemes can be seen as part of the restructuring between universities and industry, a central pre-occupation of present government policy. 'Learning at the Workplace' is an emerging concern of British universities and while focussing on issues such as the accreditation of learning undertaken in the workplace as part of an employees job tasks, does encompass employee development initiatives.

b) **Training Matters**:

An analysis of the nature, experience and views of employers for a three year period, the research is undertaken in conjunction with the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW). Some 1,500 questionnaires will be analysed together with data from some 400 brief interviews undertaken by employees themselves in the workplace. The conclusions of the investigation will be available in February 1994. The second stage of the project is to develop, pilot and evaluate educational materials centred around training issues for use by the Union amongst their membership and full-time officers.

The research has a strategic relevance to not only the shop workers union but to a wide range of other British unions as well. Trade unions in this country have a poor record of including training issues as part of their collective bargaining agenda. Traditionally, job-related training has been the preserve of state sponsored institutions or of the employers. The increasing political (and financially supported) importance of training as a national policy agenda emphasised by all political parties and social partners in Britain, as well as in other European countries, provides an opportune time for trade unions and their workplace membership to redress this historical neglect. But, as in most other European countries, training issues are enmeshed within a strong ideological content with many dubious and exaggerated claims of quantity, quality and costs by both government agencies and employers. The research data will provide an opportunity and leverage for USDAW (and other unions) to counter such claims as well as develop a proactive training bargaining agenda on the creation and delivery of high quality systematic company training. It is perhaps not surprising that the majority of employers within the retail sector have chosen not to provide any support to the research activity! The project will finish in late 1995.

c) **Trade Union Education**:

A third on-going area of research relates to the educational work undertaken nationally and within the Department for trade unions and their members. This is obviously an important and continuing area of research interest for staff in the Department. Previous areas of interest have included trade union education and women (Bond 1984), and unemployment and adult education (Forrester and Ward 1989). Current research topics within this area include membership education (Thorne 1993), distance learning and quality assurance mechanisms in labour and community education (Forrester 1993), open learning initiatives and accreditation of labour education.

d) **Collaborative Research Methodologies with Trade Unions**:

Given the historically close relationships between the Department at Leeds and a variety of trade unions, it is not surprising perhaps that a fourth area of research interest is in the nature, practice and development of collaborative research methodologies. Various initiatives have been taken to encourage closer working relationships over the issue of research between trade unions and academics including international meetings (Forrester and Thorne 1993), and the publication of a twice-annual Newsletter to interested trade unionists and researchers. The next meeting of this network will be in Lund, Sweden in June 1994. Apart from projects of a collaborative nature being undertaken by colleagues in the Departments and organisational initiatives designed to develop further such collaborative research activities, there is an interest in understanding and reformulating commonly understood and accepted forms of knowledge creation. Scientific methodologies and related epistemological issues are, we would contend, challenged by collaborative practices. Exploring and detailing these challenges is an important part of this fourth research area.

Lifelong Education and Trade Unions?

The concluding section of these notes will briefly reflect on the relationship between the above research activities and the concept of lifelong learning. In Britain, a concern with lifelong learning, at the very least, can be a lonely and hazardous preoccupation, despite recommendations in 1989 to the government for a system of lifelong learning by the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee! Not only are there a variety of other terms currently in use with similar connotations such as 'continuing education', 'recurrent education' and 'adult continuing education', but there are those who have challenged the conceptual basis and usefulness of the term (Lawson 1982). Others (Stock 1979) have shown greater enthusiasm but the reservations and constraints seem to outweigh any positive or constructive attributes. Certainly, the term of lifelong learning has not exactly found a welcoming home or reception this side of Europe and what mild interest was registered some fifteen to twenty years ago had further weakened in subsequent years, mirroring perhaps the depressing downgrading of the lifelong learning interests within UNESCO after their 1992 report 'Learning To Be'.

The situation today however presents somewhat of a contrast to the recent past. Not only has UNESCO rediscovered its interest and energy in lifelong learning, but in Britain, the term is increasingly finding an audience and is being used by some of the most unlikely sources. For example, the government in its push for increased national vocational training activity and encouragement of occupational sectors to set and meet training targets, is liberally using 'lifelong learning' within its literature. Major employers, especially those committed to employee development schemes and 'open-learning' systems, talk of lifelong learning (CBI 1991). British universities, financially being driven towards the 'enterprise culture' and closer alliances with industry are discovering the financial rewards linked with a commitment towards lifelong learning. And the trade unions too are talking of 'Lifetime learning' (TUC 1992).

All these bodies would probably agree with the European Commissions understanding of lifelong learning when it states that 'The European Commission defines Lifelong Learning as a concept which integrates the various sectoral offerings that currently exist to produce collaborative learning which adds value to the individual's learning process' (EC 1993). For those interested in the area of adult continuing education and the labour market, such openings and with such audiences present exciting opportunities and possibilities. There are dangers however that have been identified and rehearsed in earlier debates. Gelpi (984), for example, has warned of 'the ephemeral character of definitions of lifelong education' and outlined the research implications arising from the choice of definition. And Wain (1993) has recently reminded us of the tortuous difficulties and complexities associated with the lifelong tradition.

For adult educators, conceptions of lifelong learning must move beyond the simple agreement that learning does not end with formal schooling. Lifelong learning, we would suggest, is characterised by a societal coordination and mobilisation of institutional and personal resources for learning and includes within its audiences the unemployed, part-time workers, ethnic minorities and unskilled employees; that is those groups usually excluded from the earlier looser conception of the term. Exploring the implications, at both a practical and theoretical level, of such a perspective within the current 'openings', at least within Britain, is both an exciting and challenging task for those interested in adult continuing education (NIACE 1993). For us at Leeds, central theoretical concerns and issues linked to the research activities outlined earlier provide an opportunity to explore these connections to lifelong learning in further detail. Moreover, there is the opportunity of collaborating with trade unions and the TUC in clarification of conceptions of lifelong learning in the formulation of policies and practices that breath fresh life and vision into the lifelong learning agenda.

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EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF WORK FORCE AND MOBILITY IN THE SLOVENIAN LABOUR MARKET

Proposal of Theoretical and Methodological Framework of the Study

Summary

The paper introduces the proposal of theoretical and methodological framework in studying the impact of participation of work force in further and lifelong education and training on mobility processes in the labour market. Vertical and horizontal shifts of occupational and job positions within firms and between firms as well as exits from employment are suggested to be the subject of the study. In a modeling approach adopted mobility processes are dealt with as functions of two principal sets of factors: the characteristics of the individual and the labour market structures. Significance of further and lifelong education and training of work force in stimulating mobility processes in the labour market is derived from the following theories: a) technological and structural changes and division of labour, b) human capital theory and c) labour market segmentation theories.

Significance of Study of Mobility Processes in the Labour Market for the Development of Work Force Education

In industrial and post-industrial societies alike it is the production of goods and services for the market which assures, and is likely to do so in the future, the basic conditions for changes in the social status for individuals and social groups. The occupational position of an individual determines to a significant extent his/her social status; in this context occupational mobility is thus the area to which sociologists devote most attention. Blau & Duncan (1967) maintain that the occupational status is the best single indicator of a social stratum. The degree of mobility between occupational positions is what marks the "openness" of a particular society (Goldthorpe, 1980; Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992). Goldthorpe's famous and most frequently applied sevenfold schema of social classes is based on occupational categories (Goldthorpe, 1980, pp. 38-41).

The study of mobility processes on the labour market does not only clarify the degree of "openness" of a particular society and the diminishing of inequality of opportunities for different social strata, but also has other important implications. It represents a means for identifying changes in the economic and employment spheres. Furthermore mobility processes in the labour market usually reveal the degree of matching jobs to people. For the educational system, this can be an important indirect indicator of the educational and training needs.

An insight into the types and directions of micro-level mobility processes, and identification of the factors which stimulate or hamper these processes, provides information on the practice of employers in the field of recruitment of labour force and promotion of employees. A particularly topical issue here is the manner in which changes in education and qualifications influence mobility processes and serve as a factor of increasing mobility of the labour force. Such information is especially welcome in the identification of the interest of employers, individuals and public services in investing in education and training of work force.

The study of the relation between changes in human capital created through more or less formalised further and permanent education on the one hand and mobility processes in the labour market on the other may likewise point to the need for the institutionalisation and formalisation of education and training for the labour market. What is particularly important is the differences in mobility processes from the aspect of transferability of knowledge and skills gained in further and permanent education and training of work force.

Theories on Factors of Mobility Processes

The importance of work force education in the stimulation of mobility processes in the labour market can be substantiated by the following theories:

1. Technological and structural changes and division of labour conditioned by them

2. Human capital theory
3. Labour market segmentation theories

Technological and Structural Changes and Division of Labour

Two general theories - Bell's "knowledge society" paradigm and Braverman's theory of labour in the modern industrial process - touch upon the nature and scope of medium-term and long-term occupational structure opportunities and the related qualification requirements. Both these authors start from the assumption that direct production of goods today is highly efficient and employs modern technology. They agree that the number of individuals not employed in direct production is growing, but disagree in their interpretations of the reorientation from the primary to the secondary and then to the tertiary sector. They also disagree as to which occupational groups are expanding in consequence of reorientation to the tertiary sector. Bell advocates a thesis on the transition towards the "knowledge society" characterised by the expansion of professions and occupations in the fields of engineering services, science and technology. In contrast, Braverman speaks of polarisation and predicts the growth of manual and unskilled jobs in industry, administration and services as a result of automatization and scientific management. Some authors see also additional possibilities (self-employment, development of the non-formal sector) which the mobility concepts based on the industrial paradigm usually do not take into consideration.

Studies have not proven Braverman's deskilling hypothesis (Penn, 1990). In the past, the changing requirements for jobs generally proceeded in the direction of higher qualification requirements; however, a number of case studies in individual employment sectors and occupations indicate that technological changes also reduces qualification requirements (Flinn, 1985; Spenner, 1985). Such jobs should be thus restructured if we want to avoid a decrease in the qualification level.

The most recent empirical studies of social stratification also pay special attention to the welfare state as an important employment trajectory (Esping Andersen, 1990, 1993).

Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory (Thurow, 1974; Becker, 1975; Mincer, 1974) is based upon the hypothesis that individuals invest in their education in adolescence and early adulthood and thereby create human capital. The economic loss in the form of lost income and the costs of education is compensated for later during the working life by the return of schooling which is manifested in higher income and better occupational opportunities. Such reasoning is based on the belief that skilled labour is more productive than unskilled in all jobs. In addition to taking into account human capital created during education, the compensation also takes into consideration the changing of that capital during the individual's working life.

The human capital theory assumes that changes in achievements on the labour market are solely a consequence of changes in productivity, i.e. of occupational knowledge, skills, attitudes and occupational experience. The distribution of these characteristics is reflected in the distribution of wages.

The theory has been much criticised for failing to consider the structural determinants which, though they are outside the individual, largely determine his/her position in the labour market. In opposition to this theory stand various hypotheses which are dealt with today under the name of "flexible employment" (Tuma, 1983, 1985) and "open" positions (Sorensen, 1981; Baron & Bilby, 1980).

Labour Market Segmentation Theory

The most widely used segmentation thesis is the dual economy thesis. It argues that the system of industrial economies does not generate a unified labour market, but two segmented markets: primary market or the "core" economy, and secondary market or the "peripheral" economy. The primary market is characterised by stable, well-paid jobs. Individuals receive salaries and have the possibility of promotion in accordance with their qualifications and work experience. In the secondary market, jobs are poorly paid, promotions are rare and individual resources do not play any significant role. Among the authors who support this theory are Averitt (1967), Osterman (1975), Doeringer & Piore (1971), Wallace & Kalleberg (1981), while others (among them Cohen & Pffefer, 1984; Baron & Bilby 1984) are less inclined to it. The theory has met with severe theoretical criticism.

Mobility processes in firms are closely linked to the appearance of internal labour markets (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972).

Internal labour markets are characterised by:

1) vacant positions are reserved for those already employed in the firm;

2) promotion is based on the seniority principle and on strictly defined job ladders;

3) entry in to a firm occurs at the bottom - port of entry. Four factors feature prominently in the formation of internal labour markets: the development of specific knowledge and skills required by the enterprise, on-the-job training, customs and unionisation of workers.

The authors of the dual economy thesis differ from the authors of the labour market segmentation theory in at least one key point: the former argue that knowledge and skills play a minimal role, whereas for the latter, knowledge and skills are the key elements.

Labour Market Flexibility

The labour market today considerably differs from the labour market of the '70s: it is far more diversified and changeable. While more flexible than that of the '70s, it is not necessarily less segmented; rather the reverse. This increases the instability of the work force, causes more inequality and has important consequences for mobility processes.

Flexibility is generally defined as the "ability to adapt to changes" (OECD, 1989). This ability refers to both the individual and the firm. The ability of an enterprise to cope with the demands of the market and technological changes depends in the first place on its capacity for medium-term and long-term resource re-assignment and, consequently, on the ability of workers during their working life to change work tasks in the enterprise in accordance with the requirements of the production process. In this case, the flexibility in question is functional flexibility. Functional flexibility requires workers to master different skills. The more skills they master, the easier it is to re-assign them from one job to another. Occupational mobility is not tantamount to flexibility of workers, for it usually occurs within the same occupation.

Mobility processes are also connected with flexibility which concerns numerical adaptation of work force according to production needs. It may be achieved by shortening of working hours, by a more flexible approach to the hiring and dismissal of workers and by the introduction of non-standard forms of employment (part-time employment, temporary service contracts, externalisation of part of the firms work etc.).

The Role of Education and Training of Work Force in Modern Societies

For an individual, education is a resource enabling him/her to control and consciously direct the conditions of his/her life. It performs this function in different ways and in different fields. As J. Johnson (1987) rightly observes, the most obvious value of education is its value on the labour market. The type and level of education determines to a significant degree the occupational position an individual may attain. The occupational position then influences his/her working environment, income, power and social status. On the labour market, education is a resource determined by supply and demand.

An individual's education is not confined solely to formal education in the youth years alone, for he/she may continue to invest in the advancement of his/her knowledge, skills and attitudes later in his/her working life in the form of on-the job-training, occupational experience, continuing education and training, adult education etc. During the '60s and early '70s, the emphasis in adult education was on the attainment of goals such as making up for missed educational opportunities in youth, thereby reducing educational inequalities and providing opportunities for personal emancipation and development. These goals were later increasingly pushed aside by the requirement for education to contribute to social and economic innovations and the resolution of adjustment problems related to technological and structural changes. Viewed from the overall social aspect, the principal function of education and training of work force today consists of the modernisation of human capital, i.e. the adaptation and upgrading of existing knowledge and qualifications to suit changed technological, structural and organisational requirements. In addition, continuing education is also intended to help in regulating structural disproportions in the supply of and demand for qualifications.

In work force education and training, the organised economic, political and social interests pursue broader goals such as the enhancement of the competitiveness of enterprises, improvement of the employability of individuals, and a more effective functioning of the local, regional and national economies. Whereas individuals see a chance to realise through education and training their specific interests. It ought above all to help in maintaining achieved level of occupational position and to increase chances for occupational promotion and/or horizontal mobility. The updating, upgrading and widening of qualifications are also meant to improve the competitiveness in the labour market, both of those employed and of job-seekers. To those employed, it should help to maintain employment, and to job-seekers it should give advantage in the competition for jobs.

Also employers are interested in investing in the development of human resources only if it is to their advantage. By stimulating continuing education and training of employees, they ensure the specific qualifications required by enterprises, and by producing knowledge and skills by themselves, they reduce their dependence on outside institutions and the market. Furthermore, education in enterprises is an important element of personnel policy and is linked to internal job-allocation decisions. In this way, it also contributes to the creation and functioning of internal labour markets and thereby to the segmentation of the labour market.

A series of questions arise concerning the actual accomplishment of the functions ascribed to work force education and training, and to continuing education in particular. For the purpose of the proposed study it is especially relevant in what way education and training of work force fulfils the expectations and requirements of the participants and those who make such kind of investment. Does it increase their chances for employment? Does it protect them from losing jobs? Does it provide opportunities for promotion? Does continuing education contribute to the creation of equal opportunities and social justice, or perhaps even to increasing inequalities? Are the programmes of continuing and lifelong education designated to facilitate needs of both a worker and an employer or they mainly seek to fulfil labour market recquirements from the viewpoint of increasing competitiveness of enterprises? The proposed study is meant to highlight some of these questions.

In Slovenia the socialist self-management system defined work as the basis of the economic and social position of individual, "work" being understood as "freely associated labour". The Constitution guarantied each individual the right to work through socially owned means and thus legally sanctioned a worker's monopoly on the work place. The education of workers was understood as a social right deriving from work, rather than as an activity directly connected with the worker's productivity and the position at work he/she occupies. "Workers in associated labour" were bound by law to ensure conditions for the exercise of that right. Investing in human capital for the purpose of career development was viewed as careerism and socially undesirable, since it endangered the egalitarian principle as one of the foundations of the socialist system. In such societal conditions, the organised economic, social and political interests did not show any particular concern for workers' education. No special attention was devoted to its economic and social effects, although these aspects were not altogether ignored (Bevc, 1989). This question became topical when Slovenia introduced market-based economy and democratic political system. We encountered labour market problems similar to those in other European countries with market-based economies. The problem of competitiveness of enterprises in the commodity and services market brought to the surface the problem of the requisite knowledge and qualifications of work force. This issue is being increasingly linked with the introduction of technical and organisational changes in enterprises and the restructuring of the national economy. It also became a means for securing employment for workers on lower educational and qualification levels.

As a country with full employment of both sexes, Slovenia did not particularly concern itself with issues touching upon the presence of women in the labour market. Analyses of acquisition of higher positions in the labour market from the aspect of sex discrimination were made only sporadically and as part of other issues relating to the (in)equality of sexes. As distinct from other countries, where the study of employment and occupational trajectories of individuals, and of the factors which determine these paths is in vigorous expansion, such research has not been developed yet in Slovenia.

Conceptualisation of Labour Market Mobility Processes

Definitions

The literature dealing with mobility issues offers a number of different concepts. From the aspect of work force education, the issue of chief interest is **intra-generational mobility,** which reflects the shift of an individual through different positions on the labour market during his/her working career. The first issue relevant for the discussion is the **entry into employment and exit from employment**. Exit from employment may mean moving into unemployment or self-employment, or a departure from the labour market. Occupational mobility studies generally do not deal with these shifts, but with the employed population. However, as unemployment grows and certain population groups are increasingly moving from employment into unemployment these shifts are becoming an important part of their working career. And modeling of labour market mobility can no longer afford to ignore them.

In the case of the employed population, changes of positions may occur **within the organisation** (intra-organisational mobility) or **between organisations** (inter-organisational mobility). In either case, there may occur a change of occupation or a change of the job alone, or a change of both the occupation and the job.

In terms of direction, mobility may be **vertical** or **horizontal**. Vertical mobility stands for a change in the elements such as salary, qualification requirements, prestige, conditions of work etc. Other movements are defined as horizontal.

An important concept of occupational mobility is the **development of an occupational career**. This concept is closely related to planned investment in human capital. In the educational system, it is usually linked with continuous and further education and training, and in the labour market with the functioning of internal labour markets.

Finally, there is **voluntary and involuntary mobility**. But this distinction will not be a subject of the proposed study.

Factors of Mobility Processes in the Labour Market

Mobility processes are typically dealt with as a function of two principal sets of factors: the characteristics of the individual and the structural characteristics of the society. Where mobility in the labour market is concerned, the latter characteristics are represented by the employment structures.

In the proposed study the same approach is adopted.

1. Individual characteristics on which researchers of mobility processes usually focus are different. Social heritage used to be considered as the main factor of status mobility. But after Blau and Duncan (1967), the so-called objective criteria based more on the achievement than on the ascription have gained in importance. Among these criteria, the most important "individual resource" of mobility is education. The results of research generally show that the best-educated individuals have the best opportunity for changing position in the labour market. Michael Young (1958) warns against the emergence of a new class division of society based on the phenomenon of meritocracy in which the most talented and educated individuals will make up the privileged elite which will enjoy all social advantages - high income, favourable working conditions, power and high social status. Some authors state that already today's postmodern societies carry certain meritocratic tendencies when promotions to their highest positions are dealt with (Esping Andersen, 1993).

There are different views of the role of education in work force recruitment and promotion. Research of the managers' recruitment practices and promotion of employees indicate that they behave much more pragmatically than is usually thought. On the basis of certain findings (Bills, 1988), it could be concluded that certificates of education most directly advance the career by influencing employment from outside. Certificates and diplomas help candidates to come to a work organisation, and are much less important for their further career in the organisation.

Achievement motivation, aspirations, intelligence and social background also form part of individual resources, but these characteristics will not be a part of this study.

Another group of individual resources which determine the place of an individual in the occupational and organisational hierarchy includes specific skills, abilities, attitudes and occupational preferences. In this group we also classify qualifications gained in various programmes and forms of education and training of the work force. The proposed study will pay special attention to this dimension of human capital formation.

Unfortunately, studies of mobility processes almost entirely fail to consider this way of changing of human capital. All studies of occupational and status mobility, and labour market outcomes measure education by years of schooling and specific human capital by years of occupational experience. However, some other findings make it possible to draw indirect conclusions on the value of more or less formalised education and training as a back-up to mobility processes. For instance Johnson (1987) reports that in Sweden, neither study circles nor job training courses can make up for missed education. On the contrary, they even deepen differences between the more and the less educated individuals. Also the findings in Germany concerning the value of continuing training in enterprises with a view to reducing social inequalities are similar (Noll, 1987). Blossfeld's study (1987) of the significance of education achieved at the time of the first entry to employment for later occupational career for different age groups in Germany shows that the education represents the crucial factor that determines further occupational prospects. (The same applies to the USA: Ornstein, 1976.) He also notes that the system of employment does not offer any significant opportunities for compensation to the generations whose chances were ruined by the historical conditions which surrounded their entry to employment. Conversely, the advantages at the entry to employment remain throughout the years of employment.

The results of studies also indicate that occupational experience and in-service training are important for shifts of occupational positions within enterprises.

Differences in mobility processes also appear in connection with sex, age and marital status. Sorensen holds that these characteristics are important for the possibilities of individual movements, irrespective of individual resources (Sorensen, 1975). This opinion has been corroborated by the findings of many studies. Therefore these characteristics ought to be included in the study.

2. Structural Characteristics. As I pointed out earlier, the possibility for the realisation of individual characteristics as individual resources of labour market mobility is powerfully influenced by the employment structure, which creates conditions for the occurrence of demand for jobs and qualifications.

Kalleberg and Berg (1987) distinguish among five conceptually distinct work structures : occupations, industry, business organisations, classes and trade unions.

Structural factors which are significantly connected to mobility processes and which have roots in the political and other institutional forces include: institutional arrangement of the labour market, labour policy and legislation, the system of labour relations, the educational and training system, trade union organisation, the development of industrial democracy and the public sector. Some authors (Edwards et al., 1986) also attach importance to the way of participation of trade unions in the economy and politics.

The size of firm is a characteristic commonly included among the organisational factors. All studies indicate that mobility patterns differ significantly in comparison with the size of organisation. Large firms have a more diversified organisational structure and offer more opportunities for shifts between different positions. Small firms usually do not provide possibilities for such kind of shifts, and mobility in this case most frequently takes the form of mobility between firms (See Caroll & Mayer, 1986, for more details).

However, different authors include other organisational dimensions, too, from technical equipment and organisational structure to product variety and average wage level in a firm.

Operationalisation of the Study

In working out the concept of the study, I started from the assumption that transformations in the labour market have radically changed job opportunities and mobility processes and, especially, the needs for education and training and the way of provision of work force education and training. The former balance in the sources of social inequality has also been changed.

The study will be carried out at the macro and at the micro level.

At the macro level I will investigate the relation between mobility patterns and structural determinants of the employment system deriving from the political and other institutional factors. Here I will include: labour market policy and legislation, the labour relations, the education and training system, unionisation of workers, state ownership of enterprises, and the collective bargaining system. The analysis will be based on aggregated data from administrative resources.

At the individual level the study will examine the course of mobility processes with regard to individual and organisational characteristics (which will be ascribed to the individuals). I will include in the analysis vertical and horizontal job shifts within firms and between firms, and exits from employment. The following job dimensions will represent the indicators of directions of mobility processes:

a) educational and qualification level of jobs and occupations,

b) individual earnings (wages, salaries),

c) working conditions (autonomy at work, physical conditions of work, possibility of organising and controlling one's own work),

d) managerial position (organising and controlling work of others).

The main individual characteristics investigated will be educational/qualification level and changes in human capital (work experience and participation in different forms of formal and nonformal education and training). I will also employ characteristics such as gender, age, marital status, and organizational characteristics such as firm size, type of production, economic sector, ownership. They will serve as a covariates.

Regarding changes in human capital the analysis will start with the level of formal education/qualification in the first year of observation, and since that year onward participation in different education and training courses and schemes will be followed. Education and training courses will be followed by characteristics such as the aim of the course, the field of education/training, duration, provision of certificate, type of education/training, transferability of knowledge and skills gained.

For a statistical analysis of data quantitative statistical methods for the analysis of longitudinal data will be used.

Data Sources

The study will encompass the years from 1984 to 1994. This shall enable the presentation of changes brought about by the introduction of market-based economy and democratic political system in Slovenia. Individual data related to work history and educational/training history will be collected by the Quality of Living Survey in the spring 1994. The survey will be conducted on the representative sample of the population between 15 and 75 years of age.

Organisational data will be collected separately from existing administrative sources.

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QUALIFYING ADULT WOMEN FOR EMPLOYMENT

A practical experience and some methodological remarks

My presentation will deal with an evaluation research project, carried out on commission for the Danish Ministry of Labour, in connection with a labour market training program for women, the **P47**. P47 offered adult unskilled women a one year vocational training course, with a strong element of general education, vocational guidance and a good basic training in one industrial area. I shall first present this project, in its own right as an exciting experience in adult education in a labour market context. After that I shall present some methodological experiences and reflections, which resulted from our research project.

The evaluation research project, carried out by the Adult Education Research Group at Roskilde University, followed the first 22 experimental programmes during 1989-91. We collected four questionnaires from the participants over the process, including one 6 months after the education. We also asked the employers by questionnaires and interviews. We observed parts of the teaching, interviewed teachers and managers of the schools, and made 3 deeper interviews with selected participants(1).

The labour market education experience

The P47 was from the beginning an equal rights project, following a number of guidance and training projects that had been specially designed for women in the immediately preceding years. Setting up a systematized experiment, aiming on large-scale implementation, was an integral part of labour market policy. So the programme synthesizes some - in part very diverse - sources of inspiration. On the one hand the primary objective, following the logics of labour market policy, is to provide some unemployed women with a formalized competence, that can function as a springboard for new vocational areas where employment prospects are good. It is usually assumed, that the key factor in this is a specific training for that field. On the other hand the experiment took up a great deal of pedagogical and organizational experience from guidance and training projects for women, where the aim is to strengthen the women's self-confidence and provide a favourable framework for personal development.

This double background influenced the design of the programme, it influenced the institutional setting of the practical experiment, and it also influences the evaluation criteria, including the interpretation of the findings.

The programme is - opposite most labour market initiatives - not just a series of courses. The teaching takes place as a continuous sequence. The participants form a permanent group, including a high degree of teacher continuity. The programme varies between theory and practical trainee periods, of which there are three. The programme may be described as a professional basic training programme for adults in areas where such basic programmes - or basic vocational education - do not exist. As a basic education it is relatively short, but it was the aim, that the women should in some sub-areas reach the highest level of vocational training courses for semiskilled workers in that area. In other words, it is not an introduction to the line of industry, but a real qualification.

The general content of the programme includes mainly Danish and Mathematics, but also depending of the line of industry, in addition foreign language, Physics, Chemistry and Data Processing.

Great importance is attached to the process of personal development and clarification: Getting to know yourself as well as acquiring knowledge about training and job opportunities within the line of industry selected. The organization of the teaching as a whole accords a central place to the needs and knowledge of the individual participant and guidance is an integrated element in the teaching. There is a teacher continuity throughout the whole programme to facilitate continuous personal contact and guidance.

The basic teaching form is project work (in a very wide sense). It is assumed to be a teaching, that is well suited for including and making use of the participants' experience and personal qualification, and for a high level of technical qualification in a functional form. It also has the function of challenging traditional teaching patterns, securing that the teaching is really sensitive to the specific needs of the participants, thereby creating room for women in a male environment.

The first and basic condition, that has made these experiences interesting in a wider context, is the fact that the programme was successful on the very basic criterion of employment. The labour market situation in Denmark has for several years been an unemployment rate of over 10% plus some hidden unemployment, and there is a tendency to longer unemployment periods for the individual, i.e. the circulation is decreasing. This is partly the background for giving priority to education and training schemes in the labour market policy. But it also means, that such re-integration projects face very hard conditions. Until now the rates some direct employment has been very low (which does not mean that such projects are not useful and necessary).

The experience of the project

The P47 programme broke this pattern. The women did get a job at a much higher frequency than in other labour market training and employment schemes. Some 2/3 got a job within the first six months after completion, 1/4 had a continuous employment in that period. That is to say, a good proportion have changed their position in the labour market markedly.

What is even more interesting in a way is to test the quality of these jobs, and did they develop a kind of professional identity in relation to their qualification. We used several indicators, all subject to interpretation: Did the individual woman think, that her new job was more qualified and/or more responsible than the jobs, she had earlier? Did she feel committed to that new work field? Was there a direct connection between the skills acquired in the education programme, and the job? Or an indirect, estimated by the woman and/or the employer? It seems, that a good proportion of the women get jobs, that are better than "just a job" - and in this segment of the labour market this is an important achievement.

Since the education programme is set up on the background of unemployment this basic success is of course essential. Why has this programme been more successful than others?

Only a very simplistic measurement of effectiveness would try to make a single explanation of these figures. A complex of factors work together against each other.

First, there are the externals. The general level of unemployment is of course the most important, but in addition it turned out, that numerous local factors - from turbulence in a segment of the world market, over plant closures or expansions, to specific attitudes to female workers in single enterprises had a significant influence on the employment rate and even the quality of the trainee periods.

Secondly, such a project has a self-selection. The deliberate selection of applicants allowed women in an objectively difficult situation (unemployed, unskilled, poor formal school background) but had a good motivation for education. On this background there was even a lot of accidental variation due to local circumstances. But on the top of that there is of course an invisible self-selection of women who dare invest in a one year education programme, that is not narrowly vocational etc.

Thirdly, we are also able to see from our observations and interviews, that the pedagogical structure - the project work, the openness to participants' experiences and the combination of vocational and general elements - have been very fruitful: On a very simple level, the activity level was very high, the participants were enthusiastic most of the time. The social climate has been very good, and most of the women have felt well experimenting with learning - which is a quite odd situation for many of them - and working with techniques and materials, that are often regarded to be male.

But finally, a lot of contextual factors influenced very directly the institutional setting and the learning processes. Beside the experimental character of the project, which is always important, the background in womens movement, and the legitimacy of that has - no doubt - a special importance. But is also illustrates the complexity in the analysis of relations between pedagogical means, learning processes, and the labour market consequences.

Paradoxically, there are very different opinions about the purely female group. Some regard this to be a main reason for the good, secure learning environment - but some also think that male participants in a mixed group might have added some ways of working etc. - and some even claim, that it has been an unpleasant and stressing environment, because of the tough and marginalizing social style of (some) women.

I shall not go very deep in it - each of these views have some reality, but very much connected to individual personality and relations to the situation and to the rest of the group. We feel confident to say, that the female environment has facilitated some of the basic developments of security and self confidence, and a wide framework for sharing experiences. One may assume that this has in turn provided a good background for the technical and social learning processes through the whole education, and especially for the women's approach to the workplaces in their trainee periods affecting their general social function and personal attitude.

The interesting thing, however, independent of which explanatory power you assign to each of these factors, the total outcome does support, that it is possible - under certain circumstances and with appropriate means - to break some of the mechanisms of the labour market segregation. So the question is: Is it possible to find out what are the key factors?

When we asked the employers the most striking was, how much they emphasized general qualifications, social competences and personal characteristics. The technical skills are basic and necessary, but when the employers evaluated the education as a whole, as well as when they gave reasons for appreciating an individual employee, they turned to these types of reasons. Now, this is a highly interpretable type of data. To some extent they might rather be a mapping of employer ideologies than of the exact employment criteria. However, it suggests that there is a much closer connection and intertwining between the factors, that facilitates the women's success on the labour market, and the factors that makes the education a valuable and engaging experience for the women themselves.

The subjective learning story

This leads into the focusing on the subjective level of the learning process, and the subjective level of the women's labour market situation.

I shall comment in detail on the method later. But we utilized our deep interviews to go one step further into interpreting this subjective aspect(2).

We assume, that the life history and the individual interpretation of it is an important background for the learning process and labour market career, and offers a contribution to the evaluation. The theoretical framework for the analysis of the interviews is mainly socialization theory and especially gender socialization.

The latest report (see note 2) presents a close analysis of three cases, representing three individual life histories, their work biography, their immediate background for participating, their views on training and education, and their future life and career perspective.

To give an idea about the analysis and its fertility would more or less demand one case plus all the reservations. But nevertheless...

One woman, who is during her transport education not only improving self confidence, but also changing her ideas about possible work drastically, is also telling a lot of her relations to her husband and to her mother, giving enough material for some interpretation. Her mother, with whom she had been very closely connected also in adult age, died from cancer only a short time before she started. Her relation to other women and to her husband during the education is a kind of adolescent development - she gradually gets able to face her husband as an equal partner, and the education and work competence goes into that process, and she also gradually learns the possibility of women-to-women-communication outside her daughter-relation to the mother. This is not only a "private" development. It is intertwined with the development of her work identity and of her concepts of work. During the education she has two very different trainee experiences. One being a trucker - that really is "something" to impress her husband and her little son. A new social identity. The other is a very calm and family-like work group in a store. We interpret her reactions to these trainee experiences in relation to her previous work experiences. She has a happy experience of being a maid in a private home - were she felt appreciated and integrated. However, this is not really conceived to be work - after that she has had one of the trivial women labour market careers, with unskilled jobs in industry, part time cleaning a school while her child was small, etc. The trucker experience corresponds to her concept of real labour, and also to her newly erecting self confidence. The store experience calls for her family and relational experiences - this is obvious - but we also think that it contributes to a concept of work, that includes such experiences as those of the maid period into a new consciousness of how work environments may be - that is to say a reconciliation of some of the relational experiences and needs with the emancipation process of becoming educated. She ends up heading for the store, and is employed in it. It is not possible on this level to discuss the individual psychodynamic process very close - the relations between regressive and progressive elements in the story - but if the learning history of the individual may be understood and interpreted in the context of that context of individual socialisation and life history, it adds new dimensions to the possible meanings of the present actions, plans and learning proces.

The point is not to be able to know the exact truth about this individual woman, but to provide a new context of understanding learning processes. I hope the very short example gives an idea about the direction of that intention.

We draw some points of practical importance from the analysis. In relation to pedagogical methods and teaching the life history perspective and the cases analyzed, is seen as a way of improving the teachers understanding of the subjective processes involved in the participation in such a training programme. It supports the pedagogical concept of the P47, with project work teaching, leaving plenty of space for experience based work, individual clarification etc. In relation to the planning and administration level a number of experiences are pointed out, among these the importance of quality of guidance before and after the training, and the importance of gender composition of classes in the training programme. These experiences are in most cases valid not only to similar teaching, but also to a range of vocational training and adult education programmes.

The methodological experience

From the beginning of the project we had the assumption, that it would be fruitful to study the project from the participants' perspective. The theoretical assumption is, that learning is a life long story, and that even the single elements in a learning environment (acquiring this or that skill, meeting a specific work experience etc.) has its subjective dynamic meaning in a context set by the individual life history. It must be emphasized, that this is a societal understanding of learning - life history is the mediator of societal and cultural structural factors, it is the "place", in which the social context of the learning is present in the form relevant to learning.

So, to put it short: We looked for the educational truth in the life history of the participants rather than in the classroom. We did observe the classroom, and we assumed that also the experiences in the classroom

- seen as a learning environment - get there significance for the learning via their subjective meaning to the participants.

This was the background for the design of the project. It was a comprehensive design, with several types of data collection. This design did, however, prove unsatisfying. Although we had given a priority to qualitative interviews with a life history perspective, there were certain limitations on time and finance, that led us to carry out these interviews during the education, in school. We also had a mixed agenda for these interviews, including information about the concrete education and getting the interviewees view and evaluation of different factors in the situation. These may be some of the factors that caused these interviews to be only partly covering the purpose of a life history and background interpretation.

Another factor is of course that we had two unclear notions about the ways in which the life history context might be important, and how the interpretation should be performed.

However, I think there are some essential perspectives for the research in adult education in this. Most adult education research and thinking is closely related to the perspective of improving teaching and/or institutional and organizational settings. Although very respectful in relation to the autonomy and the needs of the adult learner it means an objectification of the learner, and a narrow framing of the field of concern, or at least a bias to understand learning in a teachers or system perspective. This, of course, especially accounts for such research as we have been carrying out, evaluating a specific experiment, the teaching methods, the way of handling labour market problems etc. However, this is not an unusual context for research into adult education in a labour market context. So I think that some of experiences may be of a more general relevance (3). On the other hand, a comprehensive research design, like the one in evaluation research or in (educational) development projects, also has advantages. It may provide for the research team a lot of contextual knowledge (the education, the labour market setting, the cultural context) and give a very practical judgment, that may be very useful in the data collection as well as in the analysis.

These experiences and reflections have led us into a further development of a research strategy, focusing on the individual learning biography. We preliminarily label it a Life History - study. The plan is to refine the study into the individual subjective history, with a special focus on **gender** and

work. These two aspects are in no way parallel, but very important for different reasons.

We think, that gender is may be the most important single aspect of the socialization background, when seen from the point of view of the adult learning biography. The gender aspect was in the project P47 present, originally in a quite unproblematic notion about a female free space, where you could practice and strengthen self confidence and female selfconsciousness. As I just mentioned it seemed to be true, but also a bit more complicated. But it seemed to be very fruitful to interpret the basic learning processes in terms of gender and gender socialization.

Work experience and work identity seems to be a very important, and for us especially interesting, side of the adult learning. It goes without further discussion, especially of course in relation to labour market related adult education.

Some inspirations for method development

We have, I think learned a hard lesson as to the data collection, which presents some difficulties in practical terms in many projects. We have during the period of the P47, project and a couple of parallel projects, and partially as a response to our search for a better design, been inspired from quite different and may be also incompatible methodological traditions of biographical research as well as psychoanalytic hermeneutics.

The biographical research seems to be a rather direct and comprehensive answer to the problem of defining and helping to collect a relevant set of data in a qualitative research design. Although it is a research tradition with several quite different positions, they unite focusing the biography as a subjective whole as the object for analysis. Especially the narrative interview - a spontaneous telling of the life story of the interviewee - seems promising as a method for data collection, providing a context for the interview that goes beyond the education situation, and establishing a different discourse than that of commenting on the education. At least two aspects of the methodology must be considered, the data collection and the analysis. In the analysis we more to stick to the psychoanalytic/socialisation theoretical inspiration, that is inherited more or less from a "Frankfurt" tradition. It may be questioned, whether incompatibilities between the research traditions will make such a combination of an interview procedure, that emphasizes the production of biographical continuity, and a theoretical framework, that tends to dissolute this entity in subjective conflict structures as well as objective discontinuities and structural dependence. To me it seems rather opposite: That this contradiction around the concept of biography is a key to the dynamics of the learning biography.

But we have also started studying some of the data collection methods used in this tradition, namely different types of group discussion, more or less thematic, more or less context related. This data collection method utilizes the interactive dynamics to provide qualitative data. A depth hermeneutic interpretation of these discussions utilizes a psychoanalytic knowledge in the interpretation of the participants in this interaction as well as in the self reflection of the interpreter and the interpretation procedure. It may thus relate to situational as well as life history contexts, depending on the theme and the interpretation.

These last ideas are so to say reflections on **how** to develop a life history oriented study method into adult education, work, and gender. We are building that into some projects being planned now, at the same time as we work with the methodological questions. And we are, of course, for ever looking for a sponsor, that will allow us to give priority to the scientific perspectives - including systematic knowledge about adult learning, and theoretical as well as methodological development.

Notes

1. The evaluation has been reported in a number of publications, and the main findings are available in English in **Summary of the main Conclusions in the Evaluation of P47**, published by the Danish Labour Market Authority, 1991. This is the summary of the main report (Henning Salling Olesen/Kirsten Larsen/Anette Ramsoe: **Hvad der er godt for kvinder er godt for AMU**, Adult Education Research Group Publications, Roskilde 1991).

2. The latest report, Kirsten Larsen/Henning Salling Olesen/Anette Ramsoe: **En uddannelse - tre historier**, Adult Education Research Group Publications, Roskilde 1992 (One Education - three stories) is a qualitative study into three womens experience of the education and their background, mainly based on the interviews.

3. A comprehensive and critical discussion about methods in evaluation research in Adult Education in K. Weber (ed): **Evaluerlngsforskning mellem interesser og politik,** Netvark for voksenpadagogisk teoriudvikling, Roskilde 1993 (to be translated into English).

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CONSEQUENCES OF A SOCIETY WITHOUT HOUSEWIVES

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE LABOUR MARKET

The main thesis is that when one shakes up the sexual division of labour, a whole social system begins to dissolve.

The project "Consequences of a Society without Housewives" was begun in spring 1990 with a questionnaire sent to 96 young people of both genders. The next phase was one of more profound interviews with 12 selected young people. At the time of writing, I am preparing a report on the provisional results of the first part of the investigation. The present paper contains mainly the premises for the project but also some of its provisional results. The project is being done during the research time I have as lecturer and is supported by the Danish Research Council for the Social Sciences with funds for the questionnaire etc.

General premises for the project

Chaotic relations between the genders

Developments in Denmark between 1900 and 1960 included the achievement of formal equality by women while, at the same time, in the private sphere the closed nuclear family developed in all classes. Men became the providers and to an increasing degree women became house-bound housewives. By the closing years of the 1950s, about half of all adult women were housewives, a condition that naturally did not exclude many from having casual or black-economy jobs or the like. The "normal" state of things was that the man supported the family: this is the way it appeared and such were both genders' perceptions of themselves.

The violent economic expansion and the full employment of the 1960s and 1970s caused profound changes to society. With respect to differences between the genders, the most important was that women once more appeared on the labour market to an extent that was far greater than anything hitherto - but also and partly linked with this the beginnings of tendencies of dissolution in a number of norms and attitudes that had earlier among other things regulated relations between the genders and the nurture of children. Pair relationships - married and common-law - became no longer thought of as carrying such obligations and being as inviolable as they had been, and the divorce rate rose.

Married women's salaried work contributed to the strongly rising welfare but at the same time it decisively changed the structure of families and the balance between the sexes. Women acquired dual roles but they also acquired an increased importance and power by virtue of their independent incomes. If men as a rule had significantly higher incomes, they were often squeezed between exhausting, rapid-tempo work, reduced service on the home front, and undermining of their conscious status as breadwinners. Children, too, could find themselves constricted in this new structure, in which they were looked after and cared for in public institutions and the like rather than by housewives. So far as gender relations were concerned, it was precisely the tendencies of dissolution in the traditional nuclear family of a woman who was a housewife working at home and a man who supported it that was most characteristic of the period - without the appearance of something firm and enduring in its place. As in other areas, old norms came under heavy pressure, being replaced by a state without norms in which everything was possible and nothing was sure.

An absence of norms or cultural release

The 1980s were characterized by economic crisis and unemployment, and by the continued cultural release. This term derives from the German socialization theorist, Thomas Ziehe (1983), having been inspired by thinking of Jürgen Habermas (1971), Oskar Negt (1981 and 1985) and others. It signifies an ambiguous tendency in development, both dissolution of and release from old norms. Norms that are handed down, traditions and ideas lose their meaning, and the new generation cannot make use of the former generation's experience.

Once one had a track to follow, now one must choose an opinion and a set of norms. Once there was little room for divergence, now nothing can be taken for granted. Identity becomes something that can be tested, changed, stylized and played with. While a dissolution of norms and traditions releases young people in particular, it also affects the middle aged, and in a chaotic market-like space that lacks firm boundaries, where one must the whole time make choices and give form to one's life style and identity, and where the possibilities for choosing again, trying something new, making experiments and testing one's limits are always present creating anxiety and uncertainty.

With regard to relationships between the genders, the most profound conscious change is that the male identity as provider and the female as housewife that were so laboriously developed in step with capitalism through a period of more than 100 years, became all at once reduced to a sort of underlying possibility of relapse that was at one and the same time alluring and openly problematic, which implied demands that many had trouble in meeting.

So the lives of many people lost the stability they had had. But at the same time society lost a stability - a foundation that has only become visible now as an underlying premise for a whole system: a willingness to accept one's place and take on the necessary drudgery to maintain the family situation that has come to be understood as the goal of existence.

It is beginning to be uncertain whether a man has the identity of a provider that causes him to persevere in some job that is perhaps wearing and humiliating because he feels it is his duty to provide for his family. Even if a young man perhaps has the ambition to take on the familiar role of breadwinner, he may not always possess the psychic strength to bear it. He cannot stand his job if it is too boring or heavy, and if there is trouble in the family there it is a matter of getting out.

The female identity of housewife it is still more problematic it could constantly get her to disregard her own interests in order to keep her family together and to look after her husband and their children. A housewife identity complements the male provider identity - no provider, no housewife - but now standards of living in most instances suppose that the household has two or at least one-and-a-half incomes, and so roles become unclear. When one shakes up the sexual division of labour, a whole social system begins to dissolve.

Dissolution of the provider-housewife complementarity

To function, the traditional relationships between the genders presuppose a norm of a lifelong partnership between spouses. In this perspective, it is not so immediately problematic that the man is the one to earn the money. But once the dissolution of this state becomes a possibility that no-one can feel sure about, it also becomes a problem that it is the man who gets the house, car and so on, because it is who can afford it, while the women is not nearly so well placed when things fall apart.

As paid employment has become general among married women, something has happened to what is generally understood as the caring functions because, as we all know, women who have not gone out to work have performed "free of charge" a long list of indispensable jobs at home. There is still significant social and conscious pressure on women to take one these caring functions, but nevertheless the welfare state must take them over more and more, because women do not have time for them, besides lacking part of the necessary socialization background. And when the welfare state lacks funds, and women are no longer socialized into shouldering the more demanding caring tasks without pay or compensation, a "caring crisis" breaks out.

There is thus in many ways a deep-going reciprocal relationship between developments in the sexual division of labour and a mass of insistent signs of crisis. When real housewives no longer have an assured place, men and boys discover an absence of the material and psychic services and the safety nets that now stand out as having been preconditions for their growth into and status as "real men", those who, in other words, have shown the strength and character required to run the world and support their families to all appearances.

Chaos differs for men and women

The housewife and provider functions have presupposed one another. It is not only so that a provider is necessary for the housewife. The opposite has also been valid and perhaps has had its greatest significance in the mother-son relationship. Maybe all that whining in discussions on narcissism, the talk of "the weak ego" and the "new socialization type" can be boiled down to "because my mother was no real mother, I've been unable to develop into a real man" (Simonsen and Mow, 1984). But male developers of theory have hardly understood this - which once again has to do with a corresponding lack of interest in and superficial knowledge of caring work - the need for it, its character and its economy - and the demands it has made on women.

But if developments are immediately deplorable for boys and men, it puts girls and women into an unclear, uncertain place between the identities of being inclined towards caring and being employed for pay. It induces them typically into a more-or-less caring-orientated field of employment either within that of office and trade workers or in that of the steadily growing public service functions. And these areas have typically become more-or-less low paid and often part time at that. But despite low pay and all promptings for women to try traditionally male jobs, care-orientation constantly induces masses of women into these functions.

On the other hand, women's orientation towards a different kind of paid work has otherwise contributed to far more women than men becoming unemployed - and once again the situation is dual. In part, women are less highly orientated than men towards, or they have fewer possibilities of, committing themselves wholly to getting a paid job, in part their orientation has otherwise contributed to making them less stable and thus less attractive as employees. The struggle between the sexes over paid work has entered a new phase, but women have by no means become the equals of men with respect to capabilities of providing. The pamphlet from the Danish Statistical Agency on Women and Men indicates that in 1985 women's incomes were only 57% of those of men. While men are getting away from the identity of the provider, women have not acquired the economic possibility of taking it over, and women are still being exploited economically by men.

In this chaotic situation it is paradoxically enough the huddled nuclear family, threatened as it may be by dissolution, that is for most nevertheless the only realistic bit of wreckage to cling to, the sole possibility of finding a little stability. In particular for girls who still have something of their caring orientation left and little chance on the labour market, and thus a different identity as a paid worker, the nuclear family is something to aim for in the long run, even if it is well known to be decrepid. And sooner or later most do in fact find themselves in a nuclear-family situation.

The first generation that experienced society without housewives has grown up. And there are many signs that the social system will become more open than ever; (the premises of the project derive in part from The Skewed Genders, Simonsen and Illeris, 1989).

The progress of the project

In the project of "A Society without Housewives", I undertake an operationalization of a number of central conditions and concepts: cultural release, new social character, narcissism, everyday consciousness, the post-modern society and whatever names it has been given in the various schools of theory.

Educators of all sorts experience changes (Year Books of Youth Culture, 1985, 1987, 1989), cultural analysts seize problems seen from their points of view (Lasch 1982, Colombo 1986, Zeuner 1988), clinical psychologists publish information on changes in images of disorders (Kohut 1971, 1975, 1977; Kernberg, 1975). Social researchers work with changes in the composition and function of the family (Koch-Nielsen, 1983, 1984, 1987); Nisser 1985, 1987, 1988; (Per Schulz Jorgensen et.al. 1986). German socialization researchers (Negt 1981, 1985; Ziehe 1983, 1989; and Leithaüser 1977 respectively) have their eyes open to the release that possibly comes from the greater flexibility of the human psyche in the highly-developed, western countries or have painted a picture of a seemingly illimitable colonization of consciousness by society.

A crying need exists for empirical illumination of these theoretical schools. During the past 10 years, researchers have employed themselves with the phenomenon of young people having some other patterns of reaction under all these various names. On one point there is agreement, that changes are taking place in what is called the social character. Doubt has arisen on something so fundamental as the formation of character that is a precondition for our culture. The question is raised all over Europe whether young people can or will carry on the culture that previous generations have built up.

Previous investigations have worked with quite simple exceptions neither broadly empirical nor gender specific. In the nature of things, cultural analyses look at cultural phenomena that include advertising, clothes and the media. The theorists working with deep psychology work neither empirically - other than with the external world as a source of phenomenological inspiration - nor gender specifically.

My thesis is that there are large differences in the psychical foundations: neither of the genders can immediately use as identification models their parents' gender roles, but the starting points that cannot be used are very different, so it is indefensible to pretend that there is only one gender.

The design of the investigation

To fulfil the intentions of an empirical illustration of the questions I have posed, I have completed a double interview investigation.

In the interview's first part, a questionnaire was used with predetermined answer possibilities that were crossed off by the interviewer, and on which notations were made of the comments by the interviewees on the individual questions. The answers were analyzed with the help of the SPSS statistical program. In the first round of interviews, 96 young people were interviewed.

Against the background of the results, a group of 16 young people was chosen for open-ended, more penetrating interviews within the same thematic framework.

Choice of population for the first round of interviews

I wanted to interview a group of young people of both genders that would not and could not pretend to be representative, but yet would not be untypical or exceptional but would cover a broad social spectrum.

Young people in Denmark are to be found typically divided into institutional groups that are a result of the sorting function of the state school system. One group is those doing general or pre-university Upper Secondary studies, or preparing for a Higher Preparatory Examination; the second is those doing vocational training; and the third is those who are in the labour market and either out of work or in jobs. A fourth group, which has grown rapidly in recent years, is those who are waiting or clarifying their positions in relation to the first three groups, and who are usually in one form or another of residential schooling, either a continuation school or a folk high school.

I have interviewed 24 young people, 12 of each gender, from each of these four groups, in other words from a continuation school, an upper secondary school, from basic vocational training and from a course for the unemployed. My population is thus divided into four equally large parts in accordance with these four placements. With these four groups I would suggest I have covered the field in which young people between 16 and 19 usually find themselves. I chose this age group because I wanted to be able to talk with young adults, in other words people who had got past puberty or were in its later stages but who had not, or only exceptionally, embarked on independent adult lives.

Results and perspectives

I shall briefly summarize the most important perspectives that are contained in the investigation in relation to the young people's relationships to work and supporting themselves. It must once again be emphasized that this is a matter of results from a qualitative analysis. 96 young people in all from the Copenhagen area have taken part. The investigation is not representative, but reveals tendencies and structures, penetrates deeply into forms of awareness and conduct, and reveals some relationships between developments in society and the individual's conditions for development. Its conclusions are not, nor can be, exact in character, but they reflect some essential traits in the character of the conditions and developments that the investigation has dealt with.

1. The material shows that boys to a greater degree than girls are inclined to hold on to the provider/housewife relationship. This has to do with the fact that immediately boys would lose more from its decay: after all it was the foundation for male status as heads of families, giving them stability, care, power and position.

Irrespective of their positions in society, the prospects young men had of their roles as providers were an important basis for their aiming at a stable place in the labour market. Nowadays prospects of positions as providers and firm employment are uncertain, and together they give a considerable uncertainty in the boys' aims vis a vis the labour market and the future in general. They have difficulty in keeping a firm grip on these possibilities when the competitive situation is so keen, and it is unclear what the 'rewards' will be even if one manages to keep up.

The girls are far more prepared to give up the stability of the provider/housewife relationship. Most of them are aware to one degree or another that for women this has usually entailed dependence, limitations and extra work. Almost all of the girls are aiming to get places in the labour market so that they can support themselves - and if they don't manage they are inclined towards state support, not that of marriage.

2. The greatest part of the young people's norms are reflexive, that's to say that questions of morals and values, and the models on which they want to form their lives, are things they decide independently; the answers are not preconceived. The dissolution of the stable foundations of the provider/housewife relationship is a part of the background for the development of this reflexiveness, but at the same time this development furthers the dissolution. This development and dissolution differ in manner between the genders.

The boys are reluctant to see it happen, and many of them are able to keep their bearings on the provider/housewife relationship, even if it has clearly enough become more difficult and cannot be done without a latent uncertainty becoming apparent in one way or another. Things go best for the boys who at upper secondary school or in vocational training understand they have realistic chances of completing their education and getting a permanent job.

For many girls the provider/housewife relationship is hardly a possibility. They don't aim at it, and they don't want it. For others it is something that is perhaps possible but not particularly probable, and not something to aim at. For only a small number of the girls is it a desirable and realistic possibility to aim at.

There are close connections between the conscious dissolution of the provider/housewife relationship as an aim and the development of reflexive norms at the expense of conventional norms. Thus this development of norms has gone furthest among girls - it is purely and simply a matter of a greater degree of cultural release on their part, among other reasons because attachment to the old norms was greatest among women, who were the dependent part. But the character of this cultural release is generally different, being for girls more open, seeking but also more anxious, and for boys more reluctant, persistent, at times almost desperate.

3. In relation to the concept of a form of living, the most extensive perspective in these conditions is that the young people are not bearers of a form of living. Instead, they choose a 'life style', that is something far less stable, something one aims at during one period, knowing full well that one can make another choice, and probably will, too. Forms of living are to be seen, both as a concept and a social reality, as things that are on their way out.

This also influences to a high degree the young people's attitudes to work. To be sure, for over a century it has been possible to speak of a labour market on which labour has been exchanged and sought, but it is evident that it is acquiring a different character, that of a supermarket for goods: work is something one chooses or not in a given situation or set of circumstances. If there are good offers, it pays to be first comer, but if there are not, you make do with what you can get, that is to say state support.

The dissolution of the provider/housewife relationship, the development of reflexive norms, the decline of forms of living - all are parts of the pattern which is changing the labour market from being a market for buying and selling into a market for choice prompted by the possibilities and needs of the moment.

This development naturally contains gender and class differences. As in the other areas, development has gone farthest for the girls. For the boys there are persistent elements of the old provider mentality that to a greater degree points them towards a more stable situation - and that makes things all the tougher for them when they don't succeed. But there are also clear differences between the young upper secondary students and others dreaming of top jobs, who are aiming at more distant goals, and the young jobless whose supermarket view of the labour market has already limited them to the cut-price goods of unemployment projects, and a conscious orientation towards life-long state support is already under development.

4. With respect to qualifications, recent years' central problems have revolved round the growing need for qualifications independent of production needs of a 'soft' social and personal character that are not sufficiently developed in the existing work force. Here the young people have a stronger position. In general they have better school careers behind them, attitudes that are wider and more in tune with the times and, through their socialisation at home and in school, they have developed to a higher degree qualifications in adjustability and cooperation, of being independent and so on.

On the other hand, the investigation shows that qualification problems are arising in other areas. This is a matter of the basic qualifications for a working life, on the ability and willingness to accept the fundamental conditions of working life, and to experience a sense of personal worth and a satisfactory situation in life as an extension of it.

This is not be understood as saying that young people are idle or would refuse a job. Quite the reverse: almost all are strongly inclined towards getting the possibility of a job, but it is characteristic that they make some minimum demands. Work should be satisfying or meaningful to some extent. There are large differences between the levels of individual thresholds: some want jobs with great possibilities for disposing one's own time and for personal development, other emphasize quality of craftsmanship, and some want only work that is reasonably variable. Monotonous routine jobs are what no-one wants.

It is impossible to say anything about the degree to which they will maintain these expectations about work if they cannot at once be fulfilled. But the material shows that there are already some in the 18-20 age group who are backing out. What is new is that it is neither materially nor consciously necessary to have a job.

On the material level, many of the young people are prepared that they may need to get by on state support. This is in no way disgraceful or unacceptable, and it is definitely preferable to some unsatisfactory job.

And on a conscious level, the dissolution of the provider/housewife relationship has liberated the young people. This has different meanings for the two genders. Both now have serious expectations of working lives that will confer identities, but the girls' expectations appear against the background of the abandoned housewife role, the boys' against that of the provider role which is still partially attractive. For this reason, should these expectations not be fulfilled, the problems of consciousness would tend to be greatest for the boys.

5. The young people I interviewed differ in many ways from the older generation. They have another attitude towards the necessity of work. They have moved far in relation to a 'protestant' work ethic, in which work was morally a matter of course. They live in a society where it is not materially necessary to work and where there is not work for all, but despite this almost all of them really want to have a job. It is something of the greatest importance to them.

The novelty is first and foremost that the young people will not accept just any job, and this may be interpreted as a positive development. It can be judged as only positive in that their attitude implies dismissal of monotonous work functions that are physically damaging, at times to the point of incapacity. It is, for example, particularly positive if the

'Tarzan syndrome' that could induce young men to tear themselves to pieces to confirm their own masculinity is disappearing, and it is correspondingly positive that young girls no longer accept that they must wear themselves out doing monotonous work at an exaggerated tempo.

6. As the material has shown, the young people's attitudes to working life and supporting themselves are complicated, and it is impossible to say what might happen in any situation of full employment. But if their changed demands on working life can support an improvement of working conditions, because it is becoming harder to recruit employees for unappealing work, this would be a positive development in human terms. It is possible that there will be some problems of adjustment for a number of employers, but for society as a whole acceptance of physically damaging work is a costly, unacceptable bonus for employers.

With respect to the provider/housewife relationship there is no way back. Even if women are currently being expelled from the labour market to some degree, and even if men still get the highest pay, it cannot be re-established, because its conscious foundations have gone so far as girls are concerned, and are going in the eyes of the boys. There were positive traits about this relationship, as long as it was stable, partly because it reasonably firmly indicated who would look after the children. But at the same time it was a relationship that entailed a clear materially-based subordination of women. The novel, more open situation entails a possibility of liberation for both men and women, even if we cannot yet know how this possibility will be used.

But almost all will get into a situation of being part-providers for some children. This responsibility for providing seems, however, not to have such a disciplined and stabilizing effect on work as did the traditional provider/housewife relationship. If a situation of steady expansion of state support is not to develop, it seems that an improvement of working conditions will become a constantly more important social undertaking.

Consideration of the dissolved provider/housewife relationship raises the question of what will happen to family life. How does the changed awareness of providing affect expectations about the familial network, to one's nearest and the children? This will be the subject of the next report in this project.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND WORKING PEOPLE: A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL

Introduction

Throughout the Western world, the economic crises of the early 1970s shattered the social democratic ideological consensus that had prevailed since the 1940s (Barry, 1987). To many, including its critics on the Left, Keynesian welfare capitalism had failed. The result, however, was not, as some had hoped, the adoption of a more socialist approach; although, for a short period, that was attempted in France in 1981-82 (Ross, 1991). Instead, over the course of the 1980s countries embraced, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, 'neo-liberal' or 'New Right' economic strategies. At the international and national levels, the result has been a period of radical economic and social restructuring and a further intensification of the complex process of globalisation in the political, cultural, and, especially, economic spheres (Giddens, 1987; Robertson, 1990; van Liemt, 1992).

The demise of social democracy as an ideology, the accompanying shifts in public policy, and the transformation of state sponsored institutions, including public education, have profound implications for adult education (see, for example, McIlroy & Spencer, 1988). For there is a powerful sense in which the field's continuing character remains inextricably linked to the fortunes of a general movement which it helped create and from which it, as an organised activity, substantially evolved. Of more pressing urgency, however, are the ways in which the present emphasis on market capitalism is redefining the educational opportunities available to working people.

The purpose of this paper is to offer a formative reappraisal of the relationship between adult education and working people in the present economic, social, and ideological environment. The analysis focuses on New Zealand against the backdrop of debates in the OECD countries. The essence of my argument is that worker education and training continues to be a site of contestation between capital and labour. Revisiting arguments presented in earlier work (Law, 1992; 1993), I adhere to the view that welfare capitalism offered opportunities, albeit often limited, for a democratic perspective to influence such education. But with the deepening of the crisis of welfare capitalism, the rise of 'New Right' ideologies and governments, structural change, and the continuing marginalisation of trade unions in several Western countries, the balance of influence has shifted dramatically. Thus I conclude that while the challenge to assert a democratic vision remains urgent, the restructuring of worker education and training makes that increasingly difficult.

The remainder of this paper is divided into six sets of observations: (i) theoretical and historical, (ii) worker education, training and welfare capitalism, (iii) worker education and the crisis of welfare capitalism, (iv) the restructuring of labour markets, (v) the New Zealand experience, and (vi) the democratic imperative in a hostile environment. The paper ends with some reflective summary conclusions.

Theoretical and historical observations

Learning, worker education, and social change

Embedded in ideas about how workers learn are insights derived from French materialism, especially the Helvétian notion of education as the total process of formation in society. These ideas influenced Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' understanding of the place of education in working class politics (Law, 1992). Applying these ideas, Michael Welton (1991, p. 29) observes how people's learning is framed by the fracturing of the human community along the lines of class, gender, and race and the complex interpenetration of the various dialectics of domination. Thus a contemporary democratic perspective has to include a focus on the ways in which the dynamics of compromise and struggle between classes frame the lives of working people, including their learning.

Historically, three strands of socialist and social democratic thinking about education and social change have influenced worker education. The first is that which emphasises the place of worker education almost exclusively within the framework of an insurrectionist or 'Manifesto' politics. The second combines 'Western Marxist' (Jay, 1982) and radical social democratic thinking. This semi-constitutionalist route to social change emphasises an education designed to equip a politically active working class with the capacity to change society through involvement in their unions, their communities, the electoral process, and other political forms. The third is much more social democratic. It seeks to modify and reform capitalism rather than transform it fundamentally; it therefore looks to worker education to achieve two goals: (1) to help workers obtain a measure of political space and social justice, and (2) to help them adapt to change at work and in the wider society. This perspective was very much a central element in the post-World War II welfare state compromise.

Class struggle and 'class compromise'

The concept of class conflict was a cornerstone of Marx and Engels' theory of social transformation and of subsequent versions of 'Manifesto' politics. Both the adherents to an insurrectionist politics and those that subscribed to a semi-constitutionalist strategy incorporated notions of class struggle within their approach to radical adult education. A social democratic perspective also recognises class struggle, but holds that it can be reconciled with a 'corporatist' model whereby capital, labour, and the state co-operate.

In recent years a number of writers have employed the term 'class compromise' to describe analytically the relationships between capital and labour in Western countries, especially since World War II. The general pattern of compromise involves consent on the part of workers (more accurately their unions) in return for material benefits. These arrangements benefit capital in that they help overcome the instability inherent in unregulated capitalist economies and provide an environment for the exploitation of labour . What is significant about class compromises is that each national arrangement is exceptional in that it assumes a unique historical cultural dimension (Neilson, 1993). Given this, capital, labour, and the state's approach to training can vary from country to country, even though similar patterns can be observed across countries.

Democratic and industrial imperatives

Throughout the nineteenth century British ideas and experiences helped shape socialist and, especially, social democratic thought and politics. Among others, Marx and Engels and, sometime later, Eduard Bernstein, (1899/1961), were influenced significantly by their British experiences. Equally important, and to a large extent part of the same story, was the British influence on thinking and practice in worker education in the industrial countries through to the 1929 World Conference on Adult Education (Law, 1988a; 1988b). Writing of Britain, Raymond Williams (1961/1980) argues most convincingly, that the major achievement of the nineteenth century was the reorganisation of education and learning along lines that we still follow today. Williams holds that two principal arguments shaped education: the democratic and the industrial. Both, he suggests, were sound. However, it was "the great persuasiveness of the latter that led to the definition of education in terms of future adult work" (p. 162).

In adult education, early attempts to blend democratic and industrial imperatives proved largely unsuccessful. Between 1800 and the early 1850s, the 'Mechanics Institutes' movement grew in numbers and in strength (Kelly, 1970). But by the time of Engels' (1845/1984) classic study, "the bourgeoisie" had "succeeded in withdrawing (these institutes) from proletarian influences" (p. 264). Meanwhile, the growth of 'provided' education for children and adults presented the working class in general and radicals in particular with a dilemma (Johnson, 1979) On the one hand radicals valued education and the acquisition of knowledge; on the other hand they recognised the inadequacy of resources and thus their limited ability to provide adequate education for themselves or their children. Eventually, most national labour movements opted for a statist approach; that is, education funded by the state.

In Britain, the dominance of a training perspective led in 1889 to the enactment of the **Technical Instruction Act** . This measure, along with others, helped foster an environment whereby most post-school education, especially that provided by Local Education Authorities (LEAs), was directed towards technical and related vocational education. By 1912-13, 90% of LEA post-school education consisted of evening continuation and technical classes, most of which had a strong vocational focus (Ministry of Reconstruction, (1919/1980).

Reformism, 'class compromise' and the 'public educators'

The ideological and sociological roots of reformism run very deep. Much of the vision and the theory of the welfare state can be traced back to Thomas Paine (1791-92/1987). However, it was in the 1840s that the working class in Britain began to be imbricated as partners, even if antagonistic partners, in the status quo (Thompson 1965/1978). Over the rest of the nineteenth century, as industrialisation gathered pace, somewhat similar patterns evolved elsewhere in Western Europe.

Although socialist parties had little option but to participate in electoral politics (Przeworski, 1986), they could not afford to abandon industrial action. First, because they needed to retain the support of militant sections of the working class and their unions; second, because they needed the political leverage that accrued as a result of extra-parliamentary mobilisation. It was in this context that a number of leading figures in the European socialist movement began to question orthodox Marxism's assumptions about the impending collapse of capitalism and the revolutionary fervour of the workers' movement (Bernstein, 1899/1961).

The growth of trade unions, the extension of the franchise, the emergence of a distinctively social democratic ideology, and the creation of political parties based on a working class constituency helped provoke and in turn intersected with an end-of-century shift in favour of the democratic imperative in education. What emerged was a complex alliance of 'public educators' who held "widely differing attitudes to the rise of democracy and of working-class organisation" but who nevertheless subscribed to the view that people "had a natural human right to be educated, and that any good society depended on governments accepting this principle as their duty" (Williams, 1961/1980). Numerous initiatives in adult and worker education in the early twentieth century resulted from the idea of public education and the strength of the alliances forged around it: eg. the formation of the British Workers' Education Association (WEA) in 1903.

Two themes run through much of the adult/worker education literature associated with this perspective. The first is the idea that with the advent of universal suffrage, the nature of the state had been irrevocably transformed. At the 1929 World Conference, Rickard Sandler (1930), a Swedish Social Democratic Cabinet Minister, argued that the fundamental relationship between the worker and the state had changed and that workers now had to come to realise that it was *their* state. The second is a sharp critique of the 'defects' of technical education designed to "train (working class) boys for a proletarian life" (Hobson, 1918/1981, p. 60) and a call for equality of educational opportunity (Cole & Freeman, 1918/1981, p. 58). This critique and vision were accompanied often by a very perceptive analysis of early 'Taylorism': the accelerated division of labour, the breaking down of crafts, and the compartmentalisation of skills.

Thus quite radical public educators saw adult and worker education as *the* means of developing and popularising a democratic general education. Inspired in no small measure by Tawney's (1922) **Secondary education**

for all and other writings, the labour movement in Britain and elsewhere identified the education of working class youth as a major focus of class struggle. Tawney's influence in New Zealand was considerable, both on Labour Party politicians and on strategically placed professional educators. Two things emerged from all of this interwar struggle, as it played itself out in different countries. The first was a more democratic way of thinking about the purposes of education that affirmed, to varying degrees, participatory citizenship as well as future adult work. The second was a series of educational 'settlements' that formed part of broader welfare state compromises.

Worker education, training, and welfare capitalism

The essence of the 'compromise'

The essence of the post-World War II welfare state 'compromise' revolved around the central goals of economic growth, full employment, a steady rise in the standard of living, and the moderate reformation of work in order to humanise, within limits, production. Related to this was the provision of social services--education, health, housing, subsidised transportation, and so forth--and the provision of various compensatory payments, welfare benefits and other transfer payments. The welfare state was based on a Keynesian economic strategy which, in broad terms, held that the state can manage the economy by, amongst other things, regulating (usually expanding steadily) consumption. This is supported by constitutional democratic arrangements within which the government, employers, and unions co-operate as 'social partners'.

In summary:

> The combination of democracy and capitalism constituted a compromise: those who do not own instruments of production consent to the institution of the private ownership of capital stock while those who own productive instruments consent to political institutions that permit other groups to effectively press their claims to the allocation of resources and the distribution of output (Przeworski & Wallerstein, 1986, p. 207).

Radical reformism

In countries such as New Zealand, the labour and social democratic movements have settled for moderate reforms. However in some, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, the organised labour movement or sections of it have tried to win some degree of 'co-determination' at the workplace and enterprise levels (Schneider, 1991). In Sweden too, a more radical agenda was pursued:

> What distinguishes Swedish socialist thought is its way of situating immediate reforms in the context of a socialist future. Reforms can, in a cumulative way, have revolutionary outcomes. Also, the Swedes were the first to develop a systematic theory in which the sequential order of struggle is reversed. Whereas the orthodox scheme presupposes that welfare and the good life can arise only after the socialisation of production, Swedish revisionism holds that political and then social reforms can create the conditions for economic transformation, step by step (Esping-Andersen, 1985, p. 22).

During the 1970s and early 1980s, some New Zealand unionists and labour educators actively promoted aspects of the Swedish model. But this impulse is now largely exhausted

Training and the long boom : 1950-1968

All welfare state governments accepted the democratic idea that the education of working class children and adults provides a means of improving their lives generally and of involving them as participants in the politics of the modern state. But that enthusiasm was almost always tempered by the training needs that flowed from the assumption of economic growth that lies at the heart of a Keynesian strategy. Thus the acceptance of the economic-industrialisation argument that the skilling and reskilling of the working class is an essential element in maintaining economic growth was built into the welfare state compromise itself.

Even before World War II, the idea of a reformed capitalism that utilised the immense driving force of private enterprise within the limits of the requirements of the public interest had stimulated a rethinking about the organisation of education in terms of future (and present) work. Much of this rethinking was influenced by the application of 'Fordist' production principles--in crude terms, the assembly line--and the associated breakdown of the traditional crafts and traditional apprenticeships. After the War, much of the new thinking about the schooling of children and the training of adults incorporated ideas about the need for a 'more adaptable' workforce that could assume greater responsibility at work and adapt to changing technologies.

Throughout the Western world, state involvement in post-school vocational education and training expanded dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s. The pressures for this involvement were, of course, built into the dynamics of the welfare state. But there was also an important sense in which working class and middle class demands for greater educational opportunities converged with and were to some extent appropriated by employers' desire to have the state bear the cost of training and retraining the workforce.

Over the same period, education and training policies became more internationalised. In this respect, the post-war influence of Sweden was significant. For as a recent OECD (1990) report notes, it was from that country that the idea of 'active labour market policies' originated. Writing of Sweden, Korpi (1980, pp. 86-87) observes:

> Towards the end of the 1940s, a theoretical model for the solution of the employment-inflation dilemma, compatible with full employment and with the traditional role of the unions, was developed by economists at the LO. The main feature of this model was the key role assigned to an active manpower (sic) policy for the stabilisation of the economy.

Built into this model was a training and retraining dimension that was picked up by other OECD countries as early as the 1950s, but especially during the 1960s. However whereas Sweden viewed such policies as part of a macro-economic strategy, other countries, such as the United States of America which enacted 'Manpower Development and Training' legislation in 1962 did not (OECD, 1990).

During the 1960s and into the 1970s, three international organisations influenced developments in worker education and training: the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organisation (UNESCO), the International Labour Office (ILO), and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). But of these the OECD proved to be most important. In 1964 it adopted a Recommendation on active manpower policies that framed the pattern of development for over a decade. A number of factors favoured OECD perspectives over those offered by UNESCO and the ILO. First, the OECD is very much the preserve of the Western industrial countries; second, by definition its policies and programmes view cultural and social considerations through an economic lens.

One of the central features of the developments I have summarised was the emphasis placed on tripartism. Even the OECD recognised the ideological and practical advantages that flowed from having unions involved as social partners. Thus most national arrangements saw unions represented on central policy bodies, industry training boards, regional bodies, and, often, the councils of tertiary institutions and similar bodies. In some countries there was also a degree of worker/union participation/ representation at the levels of the enterprise or the workplace.

In the late 1960s, New Zealand imitated the tripartite British model of industry training. It convened a National Development Conference that identified enhanced training as a cornerstone of economic and social development. It also enacted a **Vocational Training Act;** this legislation provided for the establishment of a Vocational Training Council, and, under its auspices, 28 Industry Training Boards. These included a Trade Union Training Board (TUTB) which was established, belatedly, in 1974. Some individual union representatives made very valuable contributions to various tripartite committees; in the main, however, organised labour participated in a compliant or reactive way. As a movement it lacked an alternative ideology, the intellectual capacity to develop its own programme, the personnel to provide consistent and sustained representation, the organisational will or ability to co-ordinate participation, and the financial and research resources to support representatives.

Testing the boundaries

In a number of other countries unions tried to test the boundaries of the compromise, especially in the wake of the political upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s. For example, the 150 hours movement in Italy and the demands in France in 1968 for *autogestion* (self-management). In the Federal Republic of Germany the postwar union movement pursued an active economic and social policy.[2] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it set out to use its industrial and political influence to help reshape society in workers' interests; a central element of this policy was the notion of 'co-determination' of enterprises: a limited form of industrial democracy.

More sustained was the period of "marked radicalisation of labour reformism" (Pontusson 1987, p. 11) that occurred in Sweden between 1967 and 1976. There, the Social Democratic government "introduced a number of institutional reforms designed to extend public control over economic development in general, and industrial investment in particular" (Ibid., p. 11). Worker education was a cornerstone of the development and implementation of the Swedish reforms. In this sense, they extended considerably the already broad scope of worker education; they also consolidated further the well established control the labour and socialist movements had over the education of their members. In addition, through the establishment of special research institutes and sources of funding, the reforms enhanced and strengthened the longstanding links and overlaps between intellectuals and researchers in tertiary education and those in the labour movement.

Regaining control: The OECD and 'Recurrent education'

The impact of the political upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s and the response of particular countries rippled through into the policies of agencies like UNESCO, the ILO, and the OECD. Throughout the 1970s, UNESCO promoted actively its vision of a learning society and various manifestos of educational rights. For its part, the ILO advocated a range of industrial reforms such as health and safety and industrial democracy. Within this framework, it promoted a concept of worker education that went well beyond mere industrial training. It also affirmed very strongly the organisational and educational rights of workers' representatives, including shop stewards, and thus mounted a major campaign for as-of-right access to paid educational leave. Under the rubric of 'recurrent education,' the OECD took on board and reformulated the UNESCO inspired vision of 'lifelong learning.' This reformulation emphasised economic growth and, generally speaking, upheld the rights of capital and the notion of managerial prerogative.

Worker education and the crisis of welfare capitalism

Crisis and disillusionment

The political and social upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s prompted a flood of Left critiques of welfare capitalism generally, of the limitations of social democratic education and of the failures of traditional Left perspectives. By the 1980s, these critiques began to flow through into adult education (Cunningham, 1991; Rubenson, 1989). Over the same period, other, relatively dormant, critiques of welfare capitalism were repolished and reformulated as 'New Right' ideology (Barry, 1987).

There were a number of reasons why writers from both the Left and the Right became disillusioned with the very idea of the welfare state. A central reason was the constrained economic environment, especially since the early 1970s. In a welfare state a government has "two contradictory imperatives": the provision of welfare expenditure and the securing of "the conditions of capital accumulation necessary for capitalist development" (Plant, 1985, p. 5). In very broad terms, Left critics have been concerned with the inability of welfare capitalism to deliver on its promise to reform society in the interests of working people; 'New Right' critics have been concerned at the inability of the welfare state to provide the conditions of capital accumulation.

Initial (social democratic) responses

As the crisis of welfare capitalism deepened through the 1970s, all Western countries were required to address the problem of capital accumulation; enterprises had to become more profitable and the public sector had to become more productive. Initially, governments tried to effect change through greater intervention in the economy while remaining within the broad parameters of the welfare state compromise and the framework of tripartism. This strategy usually included new initiatives in vocational education and training. The rise of unemployment, especially youth unemployment, meant that much of the training effort was directed at young people. This was motivated not just by economic issues and the need for a skilled workforce, but also by concerns about social cohesion. If youth were unemployed for too long, it was argued, then they would become permanently 'alienated' from society.

New Zealand borrowed much of the ideology and many of the programmes adopted in Britain. Thus through the late 1970s and into the 1980s, under a conservative, National government, organised labour was represented on a plethora of local, regional, and national bodies concerned with the 'transition from school to work' and, as unemployment became more endemic, training and retraining. This emphasis on training was accompanied in the early 1980s by an extensive programme of state investment in industrial development. In the meantime, New Zealand unions began to sketch the outline of a more aggressive, nationalist, economic policy. Essentially social democratic, this policy included the creation of a 'Government Investment Corporation,' full employment, an incomes policy, an industrial development strategy, and a measure of redistribution of income and wealth (Campbell & Kirk, 1983). For a period this policy was promoted through worker education. However, the deepening crisis and the abolition of compulsory union membership put the union movement into something of a tailspin in the year preceding the 1984 election.

In Europe, the EEC Commission began to realise by 1978 that youth unemployment "appeared to have assumed a permanent dimension" and that unemployment was "not transitional, but structural" (Neave, 1991, p. 104). Furthermore, the net of unemployment was now catching a much wider range of people than those traditionally regarded as 'disadvantaged.' This led to a revision of Commission strategies:

> Essentially, it turned around the development of what might be termed a coordinated, cross-sector strategy designed to bring together education, vocational training and employment authorities. (Neave, 1991, p. 105).

EEC Commission policies shifted ground between 1975 and 1985:

> From being an instrument for improving mobility of labor and confined within the usual bounds of training systems, vocational training has, over the years, assumed a central and crucial role not merely as a vehicle for modernisation, but also in gaining some measure of acceptance of the consequences, social, occupational and cognitive, of that process (Neave, 1991, p. 111).

In considering EEC Commission policies, it is important to note that the structural role of trade unions in most EEC economies meant that policy development in the area of vocational education tended to involve them as social partners.

Australia and the 'Accord'

From a social democratic perspective, worker education in Australia took a major step forward in the early 1970s when the then Labour government established a statutory body: the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA). TUTA's primary purpose, consistent with ILO policies, was to help union representatives, both paid and honorary, develop the skills needed to undertake their duties within the wider framework of the industrial relations system. The arguments in favour of TUTA's establishment incorporated many basic assumptions of the welfare state compromise. However, in that they cast the net of union education more widely, there was a sense in which they also tapped important strands of the worker education tradition.

Following the 1975 election, the new (conservative) Liberal government reviewed TUTA. The Review recommended a narrowing of the concept of union training to mean "technical or practical training capable of advancing and developing knowledge and skills in fields connected with the powers and functions of trade unions or the powers, functions and duties of officials of trade unions" (Trade Union Training Authority Act, 1975, as amended). Thus from 1977 until 1983, TUTA was located much more firmly in an OECD framework.

The election in March 1983 of a Labour government presented TUTA with a new mandate.[3] Labour was committed to implementing an an 'Accord' or agreement with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). This package comprised a raft of related proposals: employment, industry development, wages and prices, social security and education, taxation, and industrial relations and occupational health and safety. The Accord was an attempt to recover economic growth, to restructure economic, industrial, and social activity, and to redistribute income and benefits in Australia within a changing, but nevertheless residually social democratic, framework. It also provided for a much bigger role for unions, as a major social partner, in economic, industrial, and social policy.

The Accord redefined trade union education itself in terms of a series of 'challenges': industry development, job protection, superannuation, taxation reform, occupational health and safety, and training itself. Among other things, this redefinition required union/worker education that involved dealing with the explosion of information around these topics, developing the capacity to participate in formulating union policies, and developing representative skills on a much wider front than had been the case prior to 1983.

The Accord provides an illustration of changing labour studies perspectives on education and training. However, the Accord strategy has come under considerable pressure throughout the 1980s as the economic crisis in Australia has deepened. This has been accompanied by increasing 'New Right' pressure to abandon completely not just the strategy, but also the fundamental assumptions of the welfare state compromise.

The surprise result of the 1993 federal election in Australia has meant that I have had to rewrite an earlier conclusion to a similar subsection. Had the National-Liberal (conservative) coalition won, then TUTA would have been abolished. The Labour victory, however, keeps alive for another three years at least, a corporatist approach to economic restructuring. But within this general approach, TUTA is under considerable pressure to 'mainstream' or integrate its educational activities for unionists into the overarching training framework that has been developed as part of the Accord process.

Notes on worker education and training in New Zealand 1984-1990

Although these notes straddle my third and fourth sections, it seems logical to present them at this point.

Ideological framework

In 1984, New Zealand elected a Labour government; however, unlike in Australia, the trade union movement and the Labour Party did not have an 'Accord'. Moreover, it was evident very quickly that in terms of economic policy at least, Labour had already committed itself to much of the 'New Right' agenda: a less regulated, open market economy, the notion of 'contestability,' and a programme of privatisation of state assets and services.

At the same time, there remained important senses in which Labour was unable to break completely with its social democratic heritage. Thus when it came to key aspects of economic and social policy the Labour government found itself riddled with ambiguities. For example, it took over three years for much of its economic policies to catch up with education (Snook, 1989). With respect to the labour market, Labour introduced major changes but was unable to follow through the logic of the ideology to which it was substantially committed. Hence Labour retained legal structures that provided for mass, largely compulsory unionisation. It also retained and in some respects enhanced aspects of a tripartite model.

Economic and social restructuring

Labour's macro economic, 'disinflationary' policy comprised three elements. Fiscal policy involved steps towards reducing the government deficit by cutting subsidies and by increasing tax revenues through a broadening of the tax base, including the introduction of a universal 'Goods and Services Tax' (GST). Monetary policy involved fully funding the deficit by borrowing at market rates and removing various restrictions on financial institutions. Foreign exchange and debt management policies included the floating of the New Zealand dollar (NZ. Planning Council, July 1989). By 1988, Labour had moved significantly towards a much more private sector, free market economy.

All of these moves had a dramatic impact on employment. And there was a compelling sense in which their logic demanded major labour market restructuring. Labour did introduce new industrial legislation, **The Labour Relations Act 1987.** This made significant concessions to New Right ideology and confiormed the earlier (late 1984) removal of compulsory arbitration. But in many respects it retained the essence of a welfare state industrial relations framework and thus earned the condemnation of the New Zealand Business Round Table (1990) and its articulate intellectual advocate of a radical New Right alternative, Penelope Brook (1990).

The Trade Union Education Authority

One of the major contradictions of the Labour government was its commitment to trade union education. This dated from the early 1970s and reflected, at least in part, UNESCO thinking. In the main, it was these ideas, carried in the Labour Party by educators, that had the major influence on the formulation of Labour's 1981 and 1984 trade union education policies. A **Union Representatives Educational Leave Act** (UREL) was passed in 1986. It established a publicly funded Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) and provided a measure of paid educational leave for trade union education.

In sketching the scope of union education, the Task Force on Trade Union Education (Law, 1985b, 1987) stressed the importance of social partnership in a modern economy. It also focussed on the need for competency in industrial relations. Occupational health and safety was identified as a third major of interest. Finally, the Task Force placed considerable emphasis on social equity considerations. Thus union education was defined in the legislation (UREL) as that which assisted union representatives become well-informed about industrial relations and able to participate in an active and well-informed manner both in the affairs of any union to which they belong and in their employment.

TUEA's functions, as specified in the Act, were also quite far reaching. They included provision for TUEA to make recommendations to the government, government departments, education agencies, and other appropriate bodies on matters relating to: (i) union education for union members, (ii) education about unions, (iii) adult education affecting union members, (iv) education of workers generally. This mandate enabled TUEA to introduce a democratic perspective into a wide range of educational activities.

TUEA continued in existence until the new National government disestablished it with effect from August 1992. Over the six years of its existence, TUEA had to come to terms with a rapidly changing economic and social context that in many respects was at odds with its own social democratic heritage and ethos. Its objectives also had to be tailored more to the winds of change; thus assisting unions to work effectively in the new environment assumed increasing importance as that environment became more difficult.

As a provider, stimulator, and coordinator of trade union education, TUEA's accomplishments in the short time of its existence were quite remarkable. In excess of 150,000 participant days of approved education took place in that period. Much of the emphasis was on providing union representatives with basic skills; but special interest areas were also given priority: courses for Maori unionists, for Pacific Island unionists, for women unionists, and courses on working with other cultures.

Once it had managed to establish its own education programme, TUEA turned its attention to other providers of education. Its strategy was to encourage, goad, push tertiary institutions to meeting their responsibilities as outlined in the reports of the Task Force on Trade Union Education, especially the second (Law, 1987). TUEA played a central role in working with the University of Waikato in order to establish the Centre for Labour and Trade Union Studies. It also tried, within the limits of its resources, to provide better support for union representatives on the councils of tertiary bodies and on other educational committees. And it became a major voice in the wider educational and training community.

Through its work TUEA helped shift unions' attitudes to educational activity. It demonstrated how an active education policy could enhance the quality of participation in union affairs and could serve as an effective means of involving those who had previously been marginalised. It also stimulated a resurgence in publications designed to meet the intellectual and practical needs of working people.

Much of TUEA's work focussed on cultural, economic and social change, public sector restructuring, union reorganisation and amalgamation, changes to industrial relations, and wider issues concerning the education of working people and their children. In its last two years, it also began to promote very actively education about the restructuring and reform of work; a point I return to later.

Observations on the Restructuring of Labour Markets

Introductory comments

Just as class 'compromises' take unique national forms, so too do neo-liberal rearrangements. And as it is in the light of our particular experiences that we attempt to make sense of general patterns, it is somewhat inevitable that the observations presented here, based as they are on peculiar New Zealand experiences, may not resonate with those of European colleagues.

The individual and the market moved to the centre of economic and social policies in virtually all the OECD countries during the 1980s. Initially, Britain and the United States were at the forefront of the neo-liberal offensive; New Zealand, arguably the country that has taken this ideology the farthest, only embarked down this track in 1984: two years after the United States began to hesitate (Neilson, 1993).

Elsewhere, the patterns are more uneven. Most of the remaining OECD countries seem reluctant to abandon completely their social democratic heritage. In particular, members of the European Community (other than Britain) appear to be trying to retain some notion of social partnership, some sense of workers' rights, and other aspects of a welfare safety net. Overall, it may be, as my colleague David Neilson's (1993) suggests, that the 1990s will see some retreat from monetarism, at least in its extreme forms, in favour of what he calls "muted Keynesianism" (p. 37).

The remainder of this section consists of a series of 'notes' on concurrent, interlinked debates on aspects of the labour market.

Notes on 'neo-liberalism' and the labour market

Norman Barry (1987), an influential writer identified loosely with the 'New Right,' identifies two overlapping strands in what he terms the "new liberal movement." The first is that associated with Milton Friedman and the 'Chicago School' of economists. Working within an orthodox, positivistic social science tradition, they hold that "the only way normative disputes can be settled is by converting them into empirical arguments" (p. 26). Thus, continues Barry:

> Chicago economics ... merely claims that empiricism vindicates liberalism. On the assumption that most people (including socialists) agree on the ends of prosperity and liberty, it is argued that liberal institutions of free markets and limited government will maximize these better than any known alternative (p. 26).

This strand of thinking challenges the priority Keynesian welfare capitalism affords full employment. Instead, it targets inflation. Inflation, it holds, is attributable primarily to an over extended state sector and the regulation of markets, including the labour market. Thus the Chicago school advocates major structural changes that combine a substantial rolling back of state activity with deregulation of markets. Woven into this strategy are arguments about the need for a more flexible workforce, as well as a more flexible labour market, and a critique of trade unions as market regulators.

There are several aspects to this element; these include the quasi-governmental status unions may be afforded under labour legislation, the 'monopoly' position they hold through various 'closed shop' arrangements, the rigidities they impose on the labour market, most obviously through collective bargaining but also through any industrial or legislative capacity they may have to draw other employers and workers into wage settlements, and, although not always openly expressed, their organisational ability to influence and/or put pressure on governments.

The second strand is that associated with the 'Austrian School,' most notably, F. A. von Hayek. For this school the justification of the free market:

> depends less on empirical demonstrations of the efficacy or otherwise of policies than on the delineation of certain universally true features of human action from which can be derived the necessity (if people are to advance their ends) of certain economic and political institutions (Barry, 1987, p. 27).

Thus at the heart of Austrian School inspired views on the labour market is the notion of 'individual freedom.' Often, as in the case of Penelope Brook's (1990) landmark work, this is linked to the advocacy of an individually based, contractual employment relations system that is located within the common law rather than discrete or specialist legislation; this line of argument relies heavily on the views of R. A. Epstein (Wailes, 1993). Whether or not Epstein and Hayek's arguments are consistent one with the other is beyond the scope of this paper; but it is interesting to note that in a searching critique of Brook, Wailes argues that they are not.

To varying degrees, both strands of thinking can be detected in most neo-liberal writings on the labour market. But as a loose generalisation, the Chicago argument appears to have been the more persuasive in forums such as the OECD.

In a review of active labour market policies since the 1960s, a recent OECD (1990) report criticised the timidity of member countries during the late 1970s. As early as 1976, it seems, the OECD Secretariat was attempting to shift the focus of governments away from full employment as a primary goal and onto inflation. By the late 1970s, the neo-liberal perspective had made progress. The review continues:

> Increasingly, the general view gained ground that if any lasting progress in the return to full employment were to be achieved ... some fundamental changes in institutions, attitudes, and rules and regulations governing the socio-economic system in general, and the labour market in particular, were required. High and quasi-fixed labour costs, rigid wage-setting procedures, generous social protection, and rules and practices which shielded some workers in secure jobs at the expense of others in unstable jobs, were some of the factors that were perceived as reducing the capacity of national economies to adjust to new international market signals and to profit from new economic opportunities (p. 16).

Other extracts from this report are presented later.

Formative notes on the organisation of work[4]

Throughout the 1980s there has been considerable discussion in the industrialised countries around the changing nature and organisation of work. This has been set against the backdrop outlined above: economic crises, technological innovation, globalisation, and a dramatic ideological shift that struck at the heart of welfare capitalism. Within this environment, the principal worker institutions--trade unions and labour/social democratic parties--found themselves weakened organisationally, on the defensive intellectually, and largely bereft of credible practical policies. Not surprisingly, therefore, the 1980s witnessed, within the bounds of particular national circumstances, offensives by many governments and employers, often in concert, but not always so, that sought to roll back the gains labour had made during the period of the 'long boom.'

Writing of this period, Stephen Wood (1989) summarises the positions of the three major parties in industrial relations as follows:

> Governments have debated ways of reducing labour market (including pay) rigidity as well as overall organisational flexibility; managements have been concerned with job flexibility, multi-skilling and increasing their ability to hire and fire; while trade unionists and socialist parties have debated their stance towards the new production concepts and employee involvement.

In broad terms, Wood's list identifies the main elements of a 'Labour Process' debate which, Craig Littler (1990) suggests, can be organised into three overlapping currents:

(1) Questions about *deskilling* and the attempt to construct a satisfactory model of skill changes.

(2) Questions about *labour markets* and the attempt to construct a satisfactory model of capitalist labour markets.

(3) Questions about *managerial strategy and control* (p. 46).

In the discussion that follows immediately, I make extensive use of another very helpful work by Craig Littler (1991). In addition to its clarity, the appeal of this monograph is enhanced by the fact that it was written specifically for a Deakin University course entitled: *Adults Learning: The Changing Workplace.*

Common to all three currents of the Labour Process debate is a widespread "acceptance that significant changes in workplace relations and work organisation have occurred during the past fifteen years" (Littler, 1991, p. 39). And it is around these changes that the notion of 'flexibility' has gained considerable currency. In an attempt to tidy up the use of this term, Littler defines "process flexibility" as:

> the ability of the production system to process a wide variety of parts and assemblies without extensive intervention from outside to reorganise the system. In terms of parameters this can be expressed as the amount of time needed for system transformation in order to produce a new family of products (p. 39).

From this key notion, he suggests, "flows the ideas of labour flexibility (flexibility of labour inputs and functional flexibility) and machine flexibility" (p. 39). He then provides a succinct summary of one of the seminal works on the changing workplace, M. Piore and C. Sabel's (1984) *The second industrial divide*.

Piore and Sabel argue that there has been a qualitative shift in the nature of production from 'Fordism' to 'flexible specialisation.' Littler summarises the main elements in the claimed distinction in the following table which in turn is adapted from Bramble (1988).

Key features of Fordism and flexible specialisation

	Fordism	**Flexible Specialisation**
	Independent variables	
Market conditions	Stable	Uncertain
Produsct variety	Standardised	Differentiated
	Defining features	
Product regime/ Techology	Mass production	Flexible production Dedicated mechanisation Use of robotic, and programmable technology. Based on permanent innovation.
	Associated factors	
Enterprise Organisation	Large corporations Unitary organisations changing to multidivisional organisations	Smaller firms Decentralisation
Skill trends	Fragmentation and specialisation	Upgrading Multivalent skills
Employee Relations	Confrontationist or worker alienation	Greater tendency to a form of participation and worker involvement.

Woven into the flexible specialisation model is an optimistic view of the potential for worker envolvement. Littler (1991) again:

> ...Fordism involves a particular set of industrial relations which are confrontational at a collective level, or if collective organisation is absent then it is assumed there is widespread worker alienation at an individual level ... Flexible specialisation involves increased participation. Why is this so? The nature of the technology is such that it is more costly to have worker alienation and sporadic disputes. This hypothesised tendency toward increased consultation and participation does not derive from employer paternalism but arises out of the nature of the production regime (p. 41).

All of this is important for adult educators in Australia and New Zealand who are attempting to come to terms with contemporary developments in worker education and training. For the general line of argument advanced by Piore and Sabel (and others) has flowed back into union approaches to these issues, principally through the work of John Mathews (1989).

In *Tools of change*, Mathews presents one of the most enthusiastic arguments in support of the view that work is changing fundamentally. He also argues that the role of unions has to change from one of antagonism to protagonism. This view resonates with the general line of argument presented in an influential Australian Council of Trade Unions/Trade Development Council (1987) document, *Australia reconstructs*, as well as that outlined in union and other literature from North America and elsewhere.

Mathews begins with an analysis of the 'Fordist system': the assembly line process based on a 'Taylorist' approach that fragments jobs into "meaningless, boring, and repetitive tasks" (p. 1). This system of mass production, he argues, "is reaching the limits of its technical, and hence economic, efficiency" (p. 1). As markets ,become saturated and as technological innovation opens up new possibilities, quality, not quantity, offers the key to profitability. As a result, a new 'Post-Fordist' system of work is emerging.

Mathews identifies several responses to the crisis of Fordism. One is the intensification of mass production, often accompanied by internationalisation. In this model, elements of the production process can be disbursed around a number of countries: the world car approach. Another response has been to innovate and specialise. However, he argues, these responses still run into the systematic limits of Fordism. Thus firms have adopted "all sorts of 'work humanisation' programs ... involving 'job enrichment,' job enlargement, and group work, as well as imported models like Quality Circles" in order to get around the problems (p. 33).

Drawing substantially on German experiences and literature, Mathews identifies approaches that he claims depart significantly from Fordism; these include: new production concepts, human centred manufacturing, flexible specialisation, diversed quality production, functional flexibility, and the 'flexible firm' alternative. He then suggests that the labour movement adopt strategies that draw on all of these concepts in order to advance the notion of a "*strategic accommodation* " between capital and labour.

One of the principal works Mathews relies on is Kern and Schumann's seminal contribution, *The end of the division of labour?* In a careful overview of this work and its critics, Iain Campbell (1989) suggests that "the 'new production concepts' identified by Kern and Schumann do exist and deserve close scrutiny" (p. 275). However, he points to disagreements on the interpretation of these developments. The critics, he reports, believe that these changes need to be situated better "in the context of other changes affecting the workplace in the current period of widespread change and management-led experimentation with new initiatives" (p. 275).

Richard Hyman (1988) questions the optimism of a "new orthodoxy" that optimistically sees microelectronic technology "beneficently transforming social relations within production" (p. 48). Hyman rejects the notion that flexible specialisation is "a recipe for *universal* corporate success" (p. 52); in a competitive capitalist economy, he concludes not everyone can be a winner. Among other concerns, he wonders if, for many workers, "strengthening the bonds of an internal labour market" is a real gain (p. 53). Moreover, he notes, how micro technology affords "managements far greater potential for oppressive surveillance" (p. 54). He also suggests that while flexible specialisation may afford some workers more job security, others may face more intense exclusion from stable employment. Among his conclusions is the view that trade unions must focus on macro-economic considerations: among these, "the *what* and the *why* as well as the *how* of production relations" (p. 59).

Recent OECD reports indicate a general acceptance of the Piore and Sabel thesis. The paragraph of the 1990 Report on labour market policies quoted at the end of the previous subsection continues:

> This led in the late 1970s and 1980s to a long series of OECD policy statements urging micro-economic reforms and ranging from positive adjustment policies, to the need for structural adaption, to flexibility in product and factor markets and to structural surveillance (p. 16).

The overview to a more recent report entitled *New directions in work organisation* (OECD, 1992) accepts without qualification the Piore and Sabel thesis:

> ... in the 1970s and 1980s, the economic and technological environment became increasingly hostile to the mass production paradigm (Piore and Sabel, 1984). In the face of competitive pressures, companies began to develop new competitive and organisational strategies which had a profound impact on industrial relations and human resource policies (Rojot and Tergeist, 1992, p. 10).

However, the OECD tends to disregard other aspects of Piore and Sabel's thesis, such as the emphasis placed on collaboration, the premium placed on craft skills and notion that "craft production depends on solidarity and communitarianism" (p. 278).

While an optimism pervades many endorsements of Piore and Sabel line of argument, it does not follow that organised labour will necessarily be welcome in the 'flexible' workplace. First, because unions themselves would need to become flexible and controlled by the shop floor. Second, because in the flexible specialisation scenario, it may be self interest, not a benign disposition, that motivates employers. Rojot and Tergeist's overview tends to confirm this latter observation. In the section that considers "A change in the dominant actor," they highlight the extent to which employers gained the ascendancy over the course of the 1980s. They paint a fairly bleak picture, at least from a union perspective: an assertion of power, decentralised bargaining, concession bargaining, the securing of legislative changes that afforded employers more 'flexibility' in hiring, and increase in "attempts to exclude unions from workplace representation" (p.12).

Notes on the skills debate

I noted earlier that throughout the industrial countries, state involvement in post-school vocational education and training expanded dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s. I also observed how this took place within a general framework that emphasised tripartism. In this subsection I discuss how, from the late 1970s, the increasing influence of neo-liberal thinking on labour market policies led to a substantial recasting of the 'human capital' argument and, again to varying degrees, an erosion of the tripartite framework.

In a very recent article, Desmond King (1993) tracks this process in Britain from the election of the Thatcher government in 1979. He argues that the Conservative government's interventions in training were influenced by "four New Right based objectives" (p. 222): (1) undermining apprenticeships, (2) individuals and labour market disincentives, (3) Enhancing the market and the employers, (4) minimising government interventions.

Meanwhile, as the flexible specialisation view gained wider recognition, so too did the accompanying argument that a regular upgrading of skills would become the principal trend (Littler, 1991). Yet it was not until the mid-1980s, it seems, that concern about a 'skills gap' became more urgent. In 1988, an OECD Intergovernmental Conference on Education stressed the "interaction between education and the economy" (OECD, 1990, p. 64) With respect to education of adults, it held that "the private sector in particular must assume primary responsibility for the provision of training and retraining opportunities" (p. 64). Over the following five years industry (that is, employer) were afforded an increasingly pivotal role in training in a number of countries, including my own.

Observations on Recent New Zealand Experiences

A new industrial relations regime

In 1984, New Zealand elected a Labour government that, almost immediately, began to restructure much of the economy in accord with neo-liberal prescriptions. A year prior to this election, the previous conservative government had undermined trade unions by abolishing legislative provisions that made it compulsory for most private sector workers to belong to a trade union. The Labour government reversed this measure, and in 1987 enacted new labour legislation. This afforded unions a number of advantages, but also started to prepare them for life in a radically different environment.

As noted earlier, in its last two years, the Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA) began to promote very actively education about the restructuring and reform of work. This emphasis reflected a changing mood within the union movement in response to the growing dominance of New Right ideology. An emerging view was that in order for workers' interests to be served in the new environment, unions needed to rethink radically many of their traditional attitudes and strategies. This view was summarised by TUEA's Deputy Director, Dick Lowe (1990), as follows:

> In the future unions and employers will need to foster a more co-operative approach to ensure survival in a highly competitive environment. Some of the traditional areas of concern listed below can be linked together successfully to the benefit of all concerned with a little effort. To some this approach may seem like advocating collaboration with the ruling classes. However in my view the interests of workers must be furthered by using every means at our disposal (p. 71).

Lowe identified traditional union concerns as those related to wealth distribution; traditional employer concerns were identified as those related to wealth creation. Linking the two clusters, he suggested, were issues of job security, standard of living, participation and consultation, and career paths. These considerations, he argued, demanded an evolutionary re-framing of worker education in line with notions of a co-operative economy.

These ideas have been promoted actively in New Zealand by the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU) and several of its major affiliates. Given TUEA's structural relationship with the CTU on the one hand and the Minister of Labour on the other, it was inevitable that TUEA's own policies and programmes through the late 1980s usually reflected the CTU's emphasis on union restructuring while taking account of successive Ministers' priorities in industrial relations. As a result, TUEA inevitably played a central role in facilitating some of the major labour market transitions that took place under Labour; this in turn generated some criticism, usually muted, from the political Left.

Union education in a new environment

In late 1990, New Zealand's new National government moved rapidly to deregulate the labour market and restructure welfare payments in line with the neo-liberal prescription. The **Employment Contracts Act 1991** (ECA) represents a fundamental break with the past. Whereas previous industrial legislation assumed collective interests on the part of both employers and, especially, workers and thus prescribed a framework within which collective bargaining took place, the new legislation assumes the primacy of individual property rights ('labour services' are a property right). Whereas the previous legislation recognised workers' collective rights and provided for the registration and function of unions, the new framework treats trade unions (now termed employee organisations) structurally as third parties; their only role is to act as bargaining agents on behalf of workers.

Philosophically, the Act purports to offer two basic freedoms: freedom to associate and freedom to contract. However, the terms upon which workers are free to associate have made it very difficult for unions to organise. For most workers, faced as they are with a hostile economic environment and large scale unemployment, freedom to contract is a pretty meaningless right. In practice, the whole balance in what is now called 'employment relations' has been shifted heavily in favour of the employer. The philosophy underlying the Employment Contracts Act is also being carried through into other legislation, such as that concerned with vocational training and that concerned with health and safety.

As I noted earlier, the previous Labour government had baulked at labour market deregulation. As a result, it was not possible to follow through to a logical conclusion a radical restructuring of education, health and other social services. Nor was it as easy as it is now to restructure and privatise publicly owned enterprises: eg. electricity generation, electricity distribution, ports, and postal services. I also noted that Labour retained some sense of the notion of social partnership. Again, with the movement towards a non prescriptive, free market approach to economic management there is little room nor any need for the government to provide structurally for organised labour to be consulted.

The continuation of TUEA and paid educational leave was clearly ideologically and structurally inconsistent with a view of employment relationships based on a libertarian philosophy of individual rights, a facilitative legislative environment, and the primacy of contractual arrangements. However the new National government was slow to abolish TUEA, even though it had long questioned TUEA's existence. In 1991 the government set up a review of TUEA, but continued to fund it for a further twelve months. As an interim measure, the Minister of Labour required TUEA to undertake education that ensured that representatives of all employee organisations were adequately informed about the government's new **Employment Contracts Act**. In this sense, the government appears to have seen TUEA as a useful vehicle for facilitating the transition into the new environment. In the end ideology prevailed, notwithstanding a very favourable review. In mid-1992 the government resolved to cease funding the Authority and to repeal the empowering legislation.

Notes on the New Zealand training regime

In the mid-1980s, the Labour government moved to establish a national qualifications framework. This initiative reflected the emphasis being placed internationally on the centrality of education and training, as a unified concept, in economic strategies. Although conceived within a neo-liberal context, residual social democratic values and elements were built into the New Zealand model. In part this reflected the Labour government's schizophrenic relationship with neo-liberalism; but in part it reflected the extent to which the new framework was derived from similar developments in Australia and thus shaped, albeit indirectly, by the corporatist logic of the Accords.

One dimension of the framework's social democratic heritage was the recognition, even if somewhat muted, of the importance of a general education for all; another was the emphasis placed on equity consideration; another was the recognition afforded Maori (indigenous) language, culture and knowledge. But even more significant was the structuring of the framework along corporatist lines: tripartism, an emphasis on the training needs of industries, rather than enterprises, an assumption of industry based, nationally co-ordinated, development strategies, and a skills regime that was implicitly linked to wages. Not surprisingly, therefore, unions were favourably disposed to the framework. At the macro level it affirmed a commitment to a 'high skills, high wage' economy; at the micro level it offered working people the opportunity to gain portable, recognised qualifications. Moreover, within this framework were enhanced opportunities for women, Maori, and Pacific Islanders to break through traditional qualification barriers.

The new National government, while retaining much of the framework, has redefined it along lines that are much more consistent with New Right ideology. At the heart of this redefinition is the increased emphasis placed on the determining role of employers: "much industry training is the responsibility of individual companies meeting their own needs" (NZ. Government, 1991, p. 7). Thus the primary thrust of the new **Industry Training Act** and the state funding that has been made available is to encourage industries and employers to determine their own training and to relate this to the national, standards based qualifications system. Alongside this, the new Act effectively jettisons tripartism by virtually eliminating any automatic structural role for unions: 'Industry' is now largely synonymous with employers. Finally, while the government provides incentives to train, employer participation is voluntary.

The Democratic Imperative in an Hostile Environment[5]

Overview

Given that the rapid pace of workplace change, the earlier quote from Stephen Wood helps point to organised labour's problem. In a restructured economic environment that leaves unions seriously weakened they can be ignored by management and government, unless they are deeply embedded structurally into economic, political, and social arrangements. That is only likely to occur, however, either for complex historical reasons, such as in Germany or Sweden, or because a Labour/Social Democratic government is reliant on unions for electoral support.

In New Zealand, employment relations, including education and training, have been restructured to provide for direct interaction between employers and employees at whatever level suits employers. However if for cultural, historical, and industrial reasons, unions retain the confidence of members, then governments and management may be inclined--perhaps required--to co-operate with them. One obvious reason would be to facilitate smooth transitions and change and to maximise employee participation in skills development.

Unions, of course, advance many other good reasons why they should be involved in the whole process of workplace transformation. These fall into two interrelated clusters. The first set of reasons speaks to workers' interests, in the widest sense, and to unions' traditional role as the representative voice of workers collectively. Union involvement is necessary, it can be argued, to protect and advance workers' rights and interests; the concern that skill training and retraining be related to remuneration, job security and career structures forms part of this argument. The second set of reasons revolves around the idea that workers know a great deal about the workplace and can contribute very positively to innovation and restructuring, provided that they are confident that they have some substantive say over the process and the outcomes. Without union involvement, it can be argued, workers will be distrustful of and resistant to change. It also can be argued that unions have considerable experience in worker education and the wider process of adult learning as it relates to working people. Thus unions are best placed to provide workers' representatives with much of the research, knowledge of other experiences, and other resources that are needed to participate effectively.

American insights

In advancing this package of arguments, New Zealand unions have been pointing to recent North American research that indicates that trade unions contribute to profitability. In particular, they have embraced John Hoerr's (1991) overview of this research.

Hoerr (p. 31) identifies three principal themes from the research. First, that "US. unions face the same crisis as US. management: dealing with the new realities of global competition." The essence of this argument is that management, labour, and the government form part of an interlocking industrial relations that must now be reformed jointly in response to economic and technological challenges. Second, that "unions aren't necessarily an obstacle to competitiveness; indeed, under the right circumstances, they can make a pivotal contribution to it." The suggestion here is that a "new model of unionism is emerging that puts unionism at the centre of companies efforts to their competitiveness." This is because unions provide a means of integrating employees into managerial decision making; the lack of an institution "that gives voice to workers' interests and perspectives can block companies' efforts to adapt to change." Third, that in order "to act in this capacity unions must reinvent themselves."

Hoerr finds that a reinvention of unions will require them to "develop a vision of how workers should shape the technological and social revolution that is transforming the workplace." It also requires a need for unions to "identify new 'leverage' points for union influences." Finally, unions "must improve their own human resources to help put labor's new vision into practice" (p. 31).

All of this implies that unions need to develop an integrated education and training strategy. Part of that strategy is related to union organisation: vision, the identification of points of leverage, and the improvement of unions human resources. Part relates to understanding better both workers' and employers' education and training needs. The first element is a task for union education; the second element is a task for a much wider range of educational and training agencies, including employers' own training divisions.

Australian insights

The Australian experience too continues to be relevant, especially after the 1993 federal election. There, the ACTU has long recognised the centrality of education and training, both in terms of organisational concerns and as a point of leverage. In 1992, it brought together its ideas on the relationship between workplace reform, skills development, high competence, and an educated workforce in a policy document entitled **New Work Culture**. This booklet offers the most comprehensive, integrated, union statements on education and training I can recall reading. Quite deliberately, the ACTU has set out policy views on every aspect of schooling, tertiary education, and post-compulsory vocational education and training, all within the framework of a lifelong view of education related to employment. In Martin Ferguson's (1992) words, New Work Culture:

> argues that there must be an even closer link between work, work redesign, efficiency and the educations system at all levels. They must become an almost indivisible whole (p. 2).

At the same time, the ACTU reaffirms quite strongly traditional labour views with respect to the need for a sound general education; Ferguson continues:

> However, the union movement rejects the traditional narrow approach to vocational education and believes that a broad general education that enhances the individual's creative abilities, assertiveness and interpersonal skills, allied to a world view of the context in which he/she is working will be an important as technical skills (p.2).

New Work Culture accepts much of the Mathews' thesis that the workplace is changing fundamentally and that Fordism/Taylorism is being abandoned. It also argues that Australia has a choice between a high skills/high wage economy or a low skills/low wage alternative. It then advocates a close relationship between education, qualifications, and award classification. For this to be accomplished, there needs to be a clear qualifications framework with established benchmarks to which pay and conditions can be directly related.

Bringing it all back home

Australian policies and developments are having an enormous influence in New Zealand at present. The principal carrier of these views is the New Zealand Engineers Union, although other unions too have now accepted, in broad terms, the same 'high skills/high wage strategy.' The Engineer's Union's views have been summarised recently by one of its employees, Mike Smith (1991). Smith accepts that: unions operate in the market. Integration into the global marketplace means that New Zealand manufacturers, services and workers are required to produce to equivalent standards of quality, flexibility, speed of response, variety and cost as the best producers in the world (p. 4).

Smith suggests that there are four elements to manufacturing for a global market: new technology, upskilling, new work design, and changed industrial relations. With respect to the last of these, he holds that:

> Cooperative procedures, consultative committees, professional negotiation and dispute resolution all work to maximise

> production and minimise disruption to the mutual benefit of workers and employers (p. 5).

In Smith's view this integrated approach is necessary to building industries and enterprises that can compete internationally. All of this has major implications for education and training:

> Education and training provides the common core to all these developments. Training is not only required for upskilling, but a good base education will be required to make the best use of new technology. Both workers and management require training in new work organisation and new forms of management and industrial relations (p. 5).

The New Zealand Council of Trade Unions actively promotes these ideas. In a series of recent policy documents (NZCTU, 1992a, 1992b, 1993a, 1993b). In summary, its integrated strategy includes:

(a) strong support for the workplace reform movement;

(b) advocating a 'quality future' by proposing a co-operative growth strategy;

(c) stressing the need for a quality public education system from early childhood through to tertiary;

(d) offering an industry training plan that emphasis the development of skills.

Formative Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed theoretically and practically the ways in which worker education and training has long been and remains a site of struggle between capital and labour. I have done so from an inherently democratic labour studies perspective that seeks to enlarge working people's understanding of the forces that shape their lives. Against this backdrop I have attempted to show how a modern labour studies perspective on worker education and training is framed by ideological and industrial considerations. The key to *any* practical labour studies strategy, I argue, is the retention of or the return to some form of quasi-social democratic consensus.

I have also sketched some aspects of the debate about the restructuring of work. The only point I wish to make is that while union movements in several countries seem to be basing much of their strategies on the sort of analysis provided by John Mathews, there is a strong body of opinion that questions many of the assumptions and conclusions of this analysis.

The scope of action for unions, I suggest, is very limited. This is an era when social democratic forces are very much on the retreat in the face of systemic economic problems and the present triumph of New Right ideology. In the new environment, unions are struggling to find leverage.

Drawing on a selection of examples, I have tried to show how unions in New Zealand and elsewhere now look education and training as a key factor in meeting workers' aspirations. I also trust that I have shown how this focus usually relates to a very integrated cultural, economic, social, and political strategy, although the extent to which such a strategy has been developed differs between countries and within countries. I hope I have managed to show how contemporary aspirations and union strategies resonate with strong echoes from the past. In this sense, it is important to note the emphasis organised labour continues to place on a sound, general, academic education.

Although uneasy and at times very critical of recent developments in worker education and training and organised labour's response, I remain unconvinced that, in the short term, there are many alternatives. The problem is that we live in an hostile times that are dominated by the industrial imperative. Unions also operate in a contestable marketplace. As the ACTU's Martin Ferguson (1991) observes: "neither the union movement nor social democratic parties ... have a guaranteed future" (p. 1). That future, he holds, depends on unions "delivering a service which is perceived as being relevant to the needs and aspirations of the people we represent." This inevitably requires those who subscribe to a democratic imperative to adopt a pragmatic approach to contemporary issues in worker education and training without abandoning the essence of our vision or heritage.

Notes

1. Director, Centre for Labour and Trade Union Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato. The Centre is an academic unit that offers a full range of undergraduate and graduate programmes; it also undertakes interdisciplinary research in the broad area of Labour and Trade Union Studies.

2 These brief observations are drawn primarily from Michael Schneider (1989/1991).

3 The information summarised here has been gleaned primarily from the materials in TUTA's education kit: **Unions in Accord: A package for the future,** although some of my interpretations are based on a wider reading.

4 My colleague Dr Paul Harris' critique of an earlier draft of this paper and of this section in particular is acknowledged with appreciation; of course this does not imply that Paul shares the views expressed in this or any other section of the paper.

5 The result of the November 1993 General Election in New Zealand and, more especially, the referendum vote in favour of a system of Mixed Member Proportional Representation opens up new opportunities that were not considered in this paper.

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THE NEEDS FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA

Slovene Adult Education Centre is a non-governmental organisation founded in 1991 and is the only national centre of its kind in Slovenia. Its main field of activities are: consulting on and development of the adult education, research, information, education of adult educators and staff in the related fields, resource centre, publications, coordination of issues concerning the overall development of adult education in Slovenia and international cooperation.

This contribution is a partial presentation of the Centre's research work. The work on the theme The Needs for Adult Education in Slovenia started within a broader three years lasting research project Adult Education as a Factor of Development in Slovenia which began at Educational Research Institute, University of Ljubljana and was later, when the Slovene Adult Education Centre was established, transfered to this organisation. The main project was organised in three, three years, subprojects:

1) The System and Organisation of Adult Education
2) The Needs for Adult Education, and
3) Programmes, Forms, Methods of Adult Education.

My consideration was, and still is, within the second one. The idea behind it is to first of all identify the sources of educational needs outside the individual, and where possible try to present them in numbers thus showing to all interested the facts that exist, and the possibilities there are for a more complex approach to adult education planning.

In the first year we started with Criteria for Identification of Educational Needs and with Statistical and other Data on Education. In reality looking into criteria for identification of needs meant setting up the theoretical basis for the project while comparing different data sent and compiled by different institutions meant studying the contents of forms used for this purpose. It also meant considering the possibilities of using them for various applications.

The second year of research included the Analysis of Educational Structure of the Slovene Population, Analysis of Educational Structure of Slovene Employees, and Methods of Assessing Educational Needs in Firms and Companies. From those analyses we thought we would obtain needs which could be later converted into figures, thus giving us arguments for converting the figures into programmes of possible adult education.

I shall not dwell further on the first year's research work as it is essential for any research work. The second year's one is more interesting.

Analysis of Educational Structure of the Slovene Population

For the purpose of identifying educational structure of Slovene population we used the data obtained by population census in 1991. We decided to present the results by sex, age, educational attainement, and regional distribution. And as there are no forms of accrediting prior learning experiences yet we were compelled to take into the consideration only forms of formal education which give a certificate or diploma, recognised by the state and employers alike.

As compulsory education in Slovenia lasts eight years, more or less from age of seven to fifteen (levels 1 and 2, according to International Standard Classification of Education - ISCED), and after that there is upper secondary education (level 3, according to ISCED) and higher and university education (levels 5, 6 and 7, according to ISCED) we took into the consideration only the population from twenty five onwards as by that age more or less every form and level of initial education is finished.

Taking into consideration all our above mentioned requests we were able to present some figures and comments. The population of 1991 is more educated than that of 1981. The average educational level of the population aged 25 years and more has risen by a whole school year, from 8.6 to 9.6 years. The percentage of the uneducated population (that is the population which completed the compulsory eight years education at most, or did not complete even this, or had no education at all) has fallen below 50 percent. The collective percentage of the population (of the same age group) with college or university education already exceeds 10 percent. The differences between the education of the population according to regions and sex are also growing smaller. A comparison of data from both censuses (1981, 1991) shows that the population older than 25 years in 1981 received further education by 1991. The educational level of appropriate age groups rose in 1991 by an average of 0.3 years.

In spite of these favourable changes in comparison with 1981, 47.4 percent of the population remains uneducated in terms that they have finished only eight years of compulsory education, or not even this. Of these, almost 37 percent have not completed primary school. Although these findings are restricted mainly to the population older than 50 years there are also younger generations coming into it, and this gives rise to concern. To say the least it would mean the rise of functional illiteracism.

If these inhabitants encompassing all age groups from 15 to 65 years of age wished to acquire a complete compulsory education they would on average need a year and a half of education. We found that on average men would need 18 months, women 19 months. And if they decided to apply for training programmes, they would first have to complete at least six grades of primary school, which means an average of approximately half a year of educational programme for everyone. In this case, the differences between the sexes are minimal.

Analysis of Educational Structure of Slovene Employees

The recession which hit all European countries hit Slovenia as well. We knew (by we I mean those who did research work on labour market and on educational attainement of labour force, on technological development of our main economic sectors and on changes in technologies in the developed countries) that something like this would find Slovenia unprepared. And together with recession and shortage of money there came also the shortage of money for further education. Firms were not prepared to invest in education too much. The money was put aside for managers and experts, but there was no more money for the vast majority of the employees whose educational attainement, though good enough before, was no longer of any use: And unfortunately, due to the previous safety of employment, our labour force was just not prepared into investing in education on their own. In a way, if this is not using too strong a term in this respect they were surely dependents.

The results od research work (Cross P., 1981) which show that the more educated ones are seeking further education and less educated ones are not, goes for Slovenia as well.

With our research we wanted to show how many people in reality does have a shortage of knowledge and skills. When we wanted to obtain some figures from Slovene firms and companies, we were unable to carry out what we had intended. All of a sudden there were no development plans, no knowledge or numbers on needs for knowledge and skills, no plans of education, nobody knew anything anymore apart from the fact that things were in turmoil, and that when this would have settled they would oblige gladly. Trade unions were of little or no use either for they were considering what to do and were trying to find their place within the new regime, and at that moment, which unfortunately is true also now, they do not have any strategy concerning the education of the labour force, apart from the very crude notions of how (contents) to educate the shop stewards and other trade union representative.

The only possibility that was open to us was to use the statistical data collected by a special form. In it data are gathered concerning level of formal education of each employee, and also of further education in programmes lasting from the period of either one month or more. Our thesis was that labour force was not adequately educated for the already existing distribution of labour, and that because of this undereducation they were not prepared for any changes in technologies or otherwise if those changes were not accompanied by vast educational programmes. Our thesis was confirmed.

Considerable differences can be seen in the educational levels both between geographical regions in Slovenia as well as between sectors. If we compare the educational requirements of jobs for the present division of labour, and the actual education of those employed in 1992 we can determine:

	Positions requiring	Actual situation
unqualified employees	8.58%	20.91%
trainees	13.85%	11.47%
qualified employees	32.99%	29.67%
employees with secondary school diplomas	26.54%	24.30%
employees with college degrees	8.91%	6.87%
employees with university degrees	8.50%	6.21%
Masters degrees	0.36%	0.34%
Doctors of Science	0.27%	0.22%

The data for the Republic of Slovenia show that the greatest discrepancies are still found in those places requiring unqualified labour. Although job requirements strive for better educated labour force the actual situtation is different. There are still too many unqualified employees. There is a lack of, as far as the requirements of job positions go, all other educational profiles. Within individual sectors and activities there are no great discrepancies in comparison with the Slovene average. The situation is likely to improve with the new organization of companies and institutes and the consolidation of the economy. In the great majority of cases this also means a change in work requirements and a decrease in the number of job positions in the educationally less demanding categories.

The situation itself is not a new one. It is a well known one and arises from the division of labour and distribution of economic sectors in the Slovene industry. After World War II all efforts were oriented into quick inustrialisation of the whole country regardless of the previous development or situation for that matter. The type of industry developped in former Yugoslavia, and also in Slovenia, was such that it did not require educationaly demanding jobs, at least not in the majority of available working posts.

When the demands for sectoral transformation arose, I believe that though the time was right, all the rest was not. Slovenia was stuck with what it had, economic situation was worsening, there was no money either for changes or for education. And now that urgent need for something better and different exists, Slovenia is paying for its past shortsightedness.

Sectors of manufacturing, agriculture, forestry and building are still the strongest in Slovenia, as they have always been, and they employ more than 50% of workers. In the major part of this sector, educational requirements are quite low not exceeding nine years of education. When we compared those figures with what could be seen in other countries we saw that their technological, informational and organisational structure in many places was such that it demanded higher educational attainment. On average their labour force had around ten years of education.

The situation in other economic sectors (traffic, post, telephone, shops, catering, trade) is not different, though by the nature of their work they could be enumerated among educationally demanding sectors. And they are in other countries. In Slovenia 30% of educationally undemanding positions indicate that these sectors have still to develop.

Only in public sector, where demands (the laws regulating the field) are for higher levels of educational attainement (college, higher or university education) things are a little better. Here the average years of schooling should reach over twelve years (12,6) and in reality they almost do - 12,2 years.

Thus comparison of the job requirements and the actual situation shows where there is still work to be done in almost all firms and enterprises. One would have expected that market oriented companies were aware of the value of knowledge and investments into education. Judging by what they declared that would have been obvious. But it seems that when the decisions concerning investing into men or machines come face to face, investments into men are doomed from the very beginning. Which, from my own point of view might be the question of adequate strategy, planning and priorities.

Experts in this field as well as their colleagues in different companies and sectors are already announcing the need for further work, and at the same time adding that further education of adults will be needed, particularly education for development.

If we are to include the European dimension, and by this we mean the more developed countries joined in the OECD organization, the common denominator of their developmental orientation is found in considerably reducing the percentage of employees lacking basic professional and vocational education and in considerably increasing the percentage of employees with college and university education.

And if we compare the situation in Slovenia to that in the more developped countries of Europe it shows which way our development will most probably follow. And this is an orientation for us.

This area of research is the one where my interest lays and where I would be looking forward in establishing an ESREA network and cooperation. Also an international research project if the subject is interesting for other colleagues as well. Why international research project if we already have data concerning those fields. I think it would be wise to work together in a comparative reseach project running simultaneously in several European countries based on the same methodology. Thus we would be able to compare results. It would also show us where we stand, where our attention should be focussed and what work should be planned for the future in this field.

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III.

3rd Workshop

INSTRUCTION METHODS, CONCEPTS OF TEACHING, AND TEACHER QUALIFICATION

REPORT
from the Workshop on "Instruction Methods, Concepts of Teaching, and Teacher Qualification"

In the workshop, discussion was based upon the presentation of the problem-oriented project study which had been introduced at the Roskilde University and some other Universities in Denmark and which has been recently extended to the AMU System. The presentation was made by Knut Illeris.

Project-oriented study was described as a study method which is not based upon traditionally organised acquisition of knowledge separated and rounded off into individual learning subjects. What students learn in a project study are skills (how) more than knowledge (what) and into a problem-solving interdisciplinary approach is encouraged. Students' work is based on well-founded and well-defined problems. Only relevant problems are taken into consideration. Special emphasis is placed on the exact formulation of the chosen problems. Students are also expected to be independent in working out the definition of the problem, and to be able to explain the relevance of the problem. The phase of formulating the problem is followed by collecting information for illustrating and analysing the problem, then conclusions are formulated and a report is written. A project group presents the report and defends the approaches employed for dealing with the problem. The presentation serves as a means for assessing the individual results achieved by making the project.

In dealing with a problem, great significance is given to methodical skills. This is expressed in the general goals of tuition as well as in the evaluation of what students have learned by doing a project.

The role of the teacher in a project study is not mediating knowledge and examining what students have learned, but more as a tutor, guiding, supporting and supervising the work of the project group at each phase of realisation of the project. This role is realised through continuous supervisor contacts between the teacher and the project group during the studies.

The presentation stimulated discussion, which was above all directed to the conditions necessary for making this method of study efficient in both senses, fulfilling individual goals and expectations as well as meeting the demands caused by social changes and development, which is especially important when labour market education is the subject in question. The participants agreed that technological organisational and broader social changes are placing new demands on adult education, which are reflected in its continuous change and adaptation to match the demands of the market. Now, education is more person-centred and qualifications are developed by other rules than just the narrow work place demands. The need for developing comprehensive social and work qualifications was pointed out.

Changing work structure due to the introduction of new technologies demands the development of competence of action, which includes the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for problem-solving. The future demands on the labour force will be for more broad and general qualifications like: international understanding, languages, cooperation, openness and motivation for continuous learning and development. Additionally the return to ascendancy of cognitive information processing models has increased the significance of the transferability of learned contents. This is also the source of an increasing requirement for the development of capacities of mind such as cognition, discrimination and generalisation.

These requirements can be realized through changes in curricular content and also through the introduction of adequate methods and techniques of tuition.

The workshop stressed the significance of project study as a means of developing general qualifications, but also emphasised some dimensions which could, if not adequately dealt with, hinder the achievement of goals. As such, the importance of the competences of participants in a project study was underlined. Particularly when adults are enroled in further education and training, one must deal whit considerable differences in levels of previous knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences possessed. This could present an important obstacle to effectiveness of study. This raises the question of the need for assessment of previous knowledge and skills, and also for examining the way project groups are formed. Another significant question raised was the agreement between teacher and students about what they understand by problem-oriented project, and also about the requirements for its realisation. The lack of comparable criteria and standards for the definition of a problem and for the assessment of individual achievement could reduce the quality of study.

Since the teacher's responsibility in a project study differs significantly from that in traditionally organised study, it is also relevant what special qualification requirements are needed. Concern was expressed that a lack of adequate commitment on the part of the teacher could cause the method to fail in achievements. The need for assuring evaluation of the teacher's work was stressed.

Furthermore, it was mentioned that evaluation and assessment of the contribution made by each member of a project group to the realisation of a project is worth noting. As the development of individual skills is the primary task of a project study, it is important to what extent it is able to activate all the skills of the participants. Concern for adequate methods for assessing the development of individual skills was expressed.

The question of whether skills and knowledge achieved in the project study bear comparison with standards valid for traditional academic study was also raised. The process of project study alone and the assessment of results prove that the differences could be significant. This could further cause different economic and social recognition of education achieved via the method. Students who finish studies at Roskilde University tend to be well rewarded in the labour market, while in academic circles they are not awarded the same recognition as students who finish universities with traditionally organised study. This appears to be a problem which is also encountered by some other non-traditional forms of study in other countries.

Although the value of the workshop proved to be above all in mutual informing and the exchange of experience of the problems and prospects of seminar participants engaged in developing and implementing new teaching methods and techniques, it also raised some points, which should be given adequate attention in the future, including:

- continuous follow-up, evaluation and redesigning of new approaches and innovations in adult education from the viewpoint of individual development, as well as market demands and broader social effects;
- provision of an appropriate training programme for the teachers involved in alternative approaches in tuition;
- formulation of generally valid criteria for determining and assessing study achievements.

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IV.

4th Workshop

PROFESSIONALISM AND CARREER STUDIES

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THE LEARNING COMPANY AND EMPLOYEE PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

> The Englishmen has yet to learn that an extended and systematic education is now a necessary preliminary to the future development of industry. (Samuelson Report 1882)

Criticisms of the British educational system, and in particular its vocational training system are not new. Indeed in a recent article it has been argued that,

> ....the history of vocational education and training in Britain is one of recurring cycles of concern, usually prompted by worries about British competitiveness. (Keep & Mayhew 1991: 196-197)

In Britain, as in other industrial economies during the 1980s, the debate about education, training and skills has moved closer to the top of the political agenda, reflecting both general wider concerns about economic competitiveness and more specific education and training deficiencies within the UK economy.

At the heart of this concern is the restructuring of the world economy and that of economic communities and individual nations over the last thirty years. This economic restructuring, characterized by the increased integration of world markets, the movement of mass manufacturing to the NICs and the continuing development and introduction of new technologies in both products and processes, has brought in its wake an increased concern with education and training and highlighted the allegedly critical importance of human skills in restructured economies. As the Commission of the European Communities (1990) outlined,

> .....investment in training is indispensable for individuals, enterprises and regions alike. It is one of the constructive responses which the Community can give to the momentous challenges awaiting it, in the economic, technological and demographic arenas, in terms of employment and ultimately, of the cohesion of the Community itself...Vocational training offers the best means of creating a pool of skills in the Community which can be tapped to boost the positive effects of the internal market, while moderating the risks of imbalance.

Not least has this been the case in the UK which witnessed throughout the 1980s massive changes in education and training, with increased centralized control, the national curriculum, national testing, the integration of enterprise elements into the school timetable (TVEI) and higher education (EHE), a massive expansion in students undertaking higher education, the introduction of a vocational qualification system (NVQs) and public support for Lifelong Learning.

Although opposed at certain stages by professional groups engaged in these areas, on the whole the debate about education and training has been conducted within a broad consensus. Politicians of all hues, trade unionists, employers and academics have all agreed on the need for a skills revolution and the need to overhaul UK education and training practise. In 1987 the TUC in its report Skills 2000 stated:

> Britain is facing a skills challenge greater than any since the Industrial Revolution. Major changes in work, in the workforce, and in the global economy are creating the need to tap the potential of all our workers. By the year 2000, we will be either a super skills economy, or a low skill, low pay society.

A perspective echoed by every Minister at the Department of Employment throughout the period and by the Confederation of British Industry in Towards a Skill Revolution (1989):

> Individuals are now the only source of sustainable competitive advantage. Efforts must be focused on mobilising their commitment and encouraging self-development and life-long learning.

Indeed throughout the 1980s and 1990s it has been almost impossible to find opponents of the learning culture with its learning companies, learning cities and other learning initiatives.

However what seems most worrying about this broad consensus is that those with very different perspectives on the economy and society are in agreement on this issue. It is almost as if whilst disagreeing about virtually every other issue all agree with the need to transform training and education. It gives the impression that there is no conflict on the issue and in the process does an immense disservice both to the needs and the possible outcomes. The worthy rhetoric which surrounds the issue masks a host of contradictions which pose threats both to the future development of education and training and the economic and social well being of the wider community.

The fundamental contradiction lies in the economic and social objectives, for as Tuijnman (1990) argues,

> ....there may well be a conflict between the economic and labour market objectives of adult education on the one hand, and its cultural, social and redistributive goals on the other.

Economic restructuring in the advanced industrial economies has produced in its wake a number of important social consequences which has been termed social marginalization or more recently social exclusion. Amongst the most important of these consequences have been regionalized structural unemployment concentrated amongst older workers, women, unskilled workers and ethnic minority workers; the development of a bifurcated labour force with increased proportions in the upper and lower employment bands but with seasonal, temporary and casual work in the new employment sectors and the utilisation of numerical flexibility; the development of spatial segregation with whole areas being characterised by social deprivation and increasingly excluded from access to facilities; a major qualitative and quantitative decline in Trade Unionism and the development to a certain extent of a core/periphery situation within the UK economy with high wages, high skills and good working conditions confined to a smaller core economy and the remaining periphery subject to a greater volatility of employment patterns, significantly worse conditions at work, lower levels or pay and reduced access to training. Education and training requirements in restructured economies are primarily related to international competitiveness which have the unintended consequence of further exacerbating social marginalization. In particular the commission of the European Communities has found itself in a major dilemma. On the one hand it recognises that the major economic threat to its position is posed by the "Dragon economies" of the Far East and is investing heavily in advanced technical training and yet on the other hand it recognises that this poses major problems of imbalance within the Community and a growing education division within individual countries which in turn poses potential social and community problems within the EC.

The second major contradiction lies in the British usage of training to counteract the fundamental problem of the schooling system which is to produce an intellectual elite and which pays little attention to those who do not fit into this mould - the division in Britain between the academic and the vocational is of major national importance and lies at the heart of the century - old pattern where we look longingly at German vocational education but are perceived as leaders in the field of liberal education.

> ....reliance on the talents of a well educated few has been one of the underlying premises upon which both the public and private systems of education have been based.
>
> ....by an educational ethos dominated by the demands of Higher Education, as expressed through the public examination system and geared through early specialization towards producing a small academic elite. (Dale, 1991, p.228)

The problem in the educational system is that it reinforces class distinctions and the cultural constraints which inhibit the development of an all embracing educational culture.

Finally one may point to the contradiction which underpins training in the UK where progressively the leading role has been given to the private sector, the agency which for more than a century has lain at the root of training deficiencies with its concern not to create a high wages/high skills economy based on technological investment but rather with embracing a business culture primarily concerned with keeping down costs and imposing hierarchical discipline.

As part of an ongoing examination of training and education in the UK and Europe the author conducted a UFC funded project on one increasingly popular aspect of the learning culture - employee personal development schemes. There are already a number of analyses of the major schemes in operation but in this project the intention was not to study these flagship schemes in a number of very large firms and organisations but rather to try and find out the situation in a range of more average firms. To this end interviews were conducted in 1992/3 in two contrasting regions, in West Yorkshire, an old industrial region and in East Anglia a growing centre of economic activity. The survey

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attempted to cover as wide a range of economic activity as possible and included chemicals and pharmaceuticals, engineering, high technology industries, local authorities, recently privatized energy and public service industries, higher education and financial services. In addition interviews were conducted in firms and organisations of varying size from firms with less than ten employees to organizations employing thousands of employees.

The interviews showed a number of features:

1. Important differences in approach to employee personal development in different sectors of the economy.
2. Formal employee personal development scheme were rate, although the bulk of organisations gave various forms of assistance to employees undertaking non job related education and training. The forms of assistance given varied immensely.
3. The reasons for developing employee personal development schemes or for assistance to employees emanated from a variety of motives and were often firm specific.
4. There was a clear division between assistance provided in core and periphery firms and between medium and large firms and small businesses.
5. The devolution of training budgets down the managerial and supervisory hierarchy was producing contradictory responses to education and training.
6. Although there were significant differences between employment sectors there were few differences between regions.

1.The myth of the backwardness of British manufacturing and the supposed superior qualities of the service sector were shown to be a myth. The sectors most willing to assist with employee personal development were in manufacturing, most particularly in chemicals, pharmaceuticals and engineering. The sectors least willing to assist were Higher Education, closely followed by Financial Services. The most striking difference lay in the fact that personal development was seen as encompassing all employees in the former whilst in the latter training budgets and support for non job related activities were either non-existent or confined to higher level employees. One University Staff Development Officer comparing his institution to a medieval kingdom with their rigid estates, with no movement between them and the vast majority of resources being devoted to the privileged groups. In addition within

Financial Services professional qualifications were perceived as the end product with occasional updating; there was little or not attempt to see learning as a lifelong process or to introduce flexibility. Within the recently privatised sectors a run down in training provision and more particularly a major programme of sub-contracting without training conditions being imposed on sub-contractors could be discerned.

2.The vast majority of firms or organisations interviewed did not have a formal written Employee Personal Development Scheme and most of these stated that they did not want a formal scheme. Rather they wanted to show employees that they were willing to support initiatives in this area but expected the demand to emanate from employees. Support for these requests varied but undoubtedly the greatest support was given to those areas which were recognised as being most useful for the firm (e.g. computer assisted product) running through the spectrum to the least support for those most non job related (e.g. evening Fine Art courses). Support was forthcoming in a number of ways, payment of fees, paid time off, changing shifts and payments for course materials. Financial support was extremely common but it varied from a token amount to the full payment of fees. In addition it was paid in different ways - sometimes up front, sometimes on satisfactory completion and occasionally in stages throughout the course. The greatest problem for employers was with modifications with shift patterns which was felt to have serious implications for production and for staff morale (amongst the other workers). Giving employees time off work to undertake courses was perceived as a major problem amongst small firms and even amongst larger firms was far less popular than employees undertaking courses in their own time but with financial assistance from the employer.

3.The reasons for developing employee personal development schemes or for providing support form employees were extremely varied and were often firm specific. There was no evidence at all that firms undertook it to recruit or retain staff, although the fact that the survey was conducted in 1992/93 in the midst of economic recession may have had an important bearing on this finding. The majority of firms were undertaking it as part of a quality package, believing that education might be helpful in creating a more flexible workforce and one more closely tied to employer objectives. In one manufacturing firm it was being introduced as part of a package intended to break the power to the trade unions. The firm believed that personal educational development would break collective consciousness and individualize workers and to this end the firm was introducing a wages and salary structure which was to be tied partly to education and training criteria. In virtually every interview there was little involvement on the part of the trade unions, and from the union side there seemed to be little to no suspicion about such policies. The only trade union official who expressed reservations about this development made it clear that in the present economic climate the trade union movement was faced by more important and pressing problems. Other reasons for its introduction were given as part of a policy of equal opportunities with an attempt to get more women and ethnic minority personnel into higher positions and in one case to retain its position within the local economy where it was seen as the most progressive firm which it felt gave it advantages in terms of the quality of its workforce.

4.There was clear differences between core and periphery firms and most striking of all a markedly different situation amongst small firms. Support for employee personal development was non existent amongst the small firms interviewed. This was not due to any hostility to the concept but rather to its impact on production. This was reflected most clearly in the fact that a small number of small firms were willing to provide financial support but none were willing to provide paid leave or even unpaid leave because of its impact on production. In terms of the core/periphery debate where firms used sub contractors none were willing to impose training condition above those necessary by law (health & hygiene) and awarded work overwhelmingly on the basis of price. Metcalfe (1992) says that core firms have pushed training and education amongst supplier firms but there was no evidence of this in the interviews and Ford UK (often cited as the UK leader in employee personal development in its EDAP scheme) specifically said they did not consider this part of their remit. There is clear evidence of an increasing divide between an increasingly trained and educated core workforce and a periphery in which education and training is largely non existent.

5.A striking feature amongst many firms was the increasing devolution of training budgets and decision making down to line managers. This seemed from the survey to be having a contradictory impact. In some firms it was leading to a more perceptive, imaginative and flexible use of resources. My own favourite use of training funds was where a line manager paid for daily swimming lessons for an overweight employee whose obesity was considered to be effecting his work, part in work time and part in his own time. However in other firms it seemed to be the last straw in the devolution of so much decision making that line managers were overwhelmed with their duties and training was relegated to a lower priority. Interestingly there was some evidence that parts of training budgets were being clawed back to central level in order to inculcate overall company objectives and combat departmentalism. This latter course had been taken in a large hospital where departmental training budgets had led to extreme competition between departments and a loss of understanding of the overall role of the organisation.

6.There was no significant differences between firms in the regions studied, rather the differences between sectors was confirmed. There was very little difference in the attitudes and actions of training managers in West Yorkshire and East Anglia. Indeed the sectors most willing to support employee personal development were the same in both regions.

At the present human resources and human development are buzz words and indeed there is a case to be made that the new initiatives associated with it are leading to important developments in terms of individual personal development and, though this remains unproved, improvements in productivity and labour relations. There is clearly also an increased interest/demand for education and training amongst workers. However these initiatives need to be viewed with caution. They are concentrated on very few workers and seem to serve to exacerbate the existing educational divisions within our society. They do very little to confront the problems of the British educational and training system, rather by introducing ameliorative measure they paper over the problems. They do nothing for those who are not in employment and only marginally more for those in seasonal, temporary and part-time work, thereby reinforcing the existing education disparities. Often they are being introduced to confront immediate problems within firms or sectors without any real conception of them as an ongoing total system. Indeed it might be argued that rather than producing movement towards lifelong learning and learning as the central feature of restructured societies it is rather reinforcing social marginalization and doing nothing to confront the cultural constraints that underpin not simply adult education in its widest sense but education in the UK.

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SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING IN A WORK CONTEXT

A short presentation of a project, it's aims and method

In Sweden there has been an increasing interest in "competence" development, organisational change and personell development the last decade. In private companies as well as in organisations within the public sector, learning related to work has been expressed as an important subject for survival in a new competitive market. Researchers in the field have of course taken the opportunity to take part in this growing interest and a lot of books and articles have been written. Especially about creating learning organisations. Large action research projects have taken place financed by the stategoverned Working Life Fund and The Swedish Work Environment Fund. In the ambition to deal with this complex phenomenon of learning and organisations I believe there has been a lack of knowledge regarding how the individual perceives his own situation in terms of learning.

From an earlier pilot study we learned two interesting things. First we could see how employees perceive an implicit demand from the management to keep their skills and knowledge at a certain "right" level. The persumed level and also the content were perceived vague and were rarely discussed by anyone in the organisation. Secondly, the interviewees grasp that the managements interest in the employees competence and learning, ends where the organised (formal or informal) courses or educational schemes starts. The interviewees perceived this as a mirror of the managements (loss of) true interest in personell development. These circumstances led to a feeling of uncertainty among the interviewees in the respect of how to deal with one's learning and personal development.

Heinz Leymann has experienced that "*the official 'training' policies are indeed based on a rather simple pedagogic model: subjects are chosen, prepared educationally, then taught. Little heed is paid to the fact that the organization itself as a learning environment may reinforce or weaken the learning process, or even distort the subject matter it was intended to teach.*" (Leymann 1989).

Further he claims that "*there are an overwhelming evidence that most work environments greatly lack stimulation as a life environment and as a catalyst for mental and social development*" (a.a). This highlights another question related to learning and work, namely work seen as a more or less important part of life. If we view work as a separate part of life, it may happen that we misunderstand peoples' way of thinking, choosing and acting in different situations. Therefore it is important to include a wider context than simply the assignments and organisational structure when we are dealing with questions about learning for work. "*Beliefs and conceptions in relation to workplaces cannot, of course, be understood merely as phenomena only conditioned by measures, efforts or activities within an organization. Work is only one part of people's life projects, which are to a great extent dependent on where one is in one's own lifecycle*". (Löfberg, 1989)

In this paper I will present an ongoing research project, preliminary called "Self-directed learning in a work context". The focus in this study is white-collar workers conceptions of the kind of learning which are conceived important for work. This is seen in relation to the personal background, the specific assignment, the profession and it's traditions and thinking of further career. These factors are seen as interrelated for the understanding of employees' way of acting in different situations. These situations can be related to organisational change, widening of the area of individual responsibility and so on, which in turn may create and provide new areas of learning.

On top of that, the individual learning is seen as related to a context where the work organization, personell policy and the accessiability of formal education (both external and internal) is considered important in the way it is expressed by the interviewee.

The aim of the study is:

1. To find different conceptions of learning for work, in a wide definition.

2. To contribute to a greater understanding of the character of the surrounding contexts that is important what regards the formation of a certain conception of learning.

3. To explicitly understand how self-directed learning for work and in work takes place.

4. To relate the above knowledge to existing research and practice related to learning and working life.

What is self-directed learning?

Self-directed learning is a concept which is understood in different ways depending on who you are talking to. First, it can be understood as a **method of organizing instruction** which means that self-directed learning is viewed as a teaching method *inside* any form of formal education. That is to say, the learning situation is teacher controlled, even if the supervisor has the intention of giving the pupil a large degree of freedom in the arranged situation. Secondly, self-directed learning can be viewed as the **characteristic of an individuals learning** without any connection to organised education. The individual has the entire responsibility for the planning, the performance and the evalutation of the studies, *it's a learner controlled instruction.* Self-direction doesn't mean a total deprecation of formal or supervised education, but, and that is very important, that the control of the learning situation is with the individual, not with an organiser or teacher. This latter definition of self-directed learning is used in this study and it can be compared with the term "autodidaxy" which is used by Philip Candy as *"the individual, noninstitutional pursuit of learning opportunities in the 'natural societal setting"* (Candy 1989).

It may be important to stress that the individual is not seen as a student but as a learner. The learner always has something special in mind when he turns to a learning situation. This may be consciously or not, but still, it's the learners privilege to act as he pleases to do in a learning situation. What kind of attitude he/she has regarded to education and other learning situations is depending of how he perceives present and/or coming needs of personal development.

Questions that are emphasized in the study in relation to the discussion above is:

What does the individual conceive as important for learning, and personal development to take place?

What is the character of this kind of learning?

How does the interviewee perceive the opportunity to be self-directed in learning situations related to his/her work?

How is the thinking about work context and lifecourse interrelated?

How is age, gender and educational background related to the above questions?

The empirical study

The empirical study consists of approximately sixty individual interviews representing ten companies/organisations. The interviewees are white-collar workers with very different educational backgrounds and ages varying from twenty to sixty years old. Their occupations are mostly some kind of Executive officials, Administrators or Engineers in their special area with widely varying responsibilities and titles. In hierarchical terms, non of the interviewees are head of a group larger than fifteen people.

The organisations are divided into three groups; 1) Private companies, 2) Public sector organisations, 3) Non-profit organisations. The reason for dividing the organisations like this, is that one can surmise that the conditions for learning may shift due to the different natures of these three groups of organisations.

Another assumption is that large workplaces may have better possibilities than smaller ones to create opportunities for personell training. This may effect the individual's thinking about learning. Therefore the intention has been to find both large organisations with a developed personnel organisation and smaller ones without this kind of facilities.

The organisations as well as the interviewees are anonymous. In the following I will shortly present the organisations' main business to give a picture of the differences in content.

In group one (private companies), there are six companies represented. One multiinternational company in telecommunications, one small company doing technical innovations on commisson, two insurance companies and two data firms. One of them is producing, selling and consulting there own softwares while the other one is a retail dealer of special hard- and software brands including consulting, education and service.

Group two (public sector) is represented by two organisations; a local part of the Immigration Board and a National Council.

Group three (non-profit organisations) consists of two organisations; an international aid agency and a regional tenants' association.

Methodology

The method used in this project is qualitative, and is partly inspired by a phenomenographical approach. This means that the study focuses on the individuals conceptions of the phenomenon studied. This is particularly applying to the first and second aim of the study (see second page). What we are interested in, is how something presents itself, how it appears to the individual. The reason to be interested in peoples conceptions of the surrounding world is the conviction, which I share with phenomenography, that phenomenons in the world have different meanings to different persons. To percieve something is an human activity. This activity means that the individual organise and delimit meanings, which shapes conceptions of the world around him. "Conceptions is in this way the basic relation between the individual and the world around us"(Uljens, 1989 (my translation)).

What is then a conception? A conception is all the knowledge and experiences which is inherent and which we use when we are reasoning or conduct a line of arguments. "The nature of a conception is that it represents a relation between an individual and a part of the world. The relation consists of the activity, the thinking, of the individual in relation to the part of the world concerned." (Svensson & Theman, 1983). Conceptions are often implicit and can therefore be hard to present to anybody else. This means that we have to read "between the lines" when we interpret an interview aiming to find conceptions of a specific phenomenon.

By this follows that the method of data collection is interviews of an approximate length of one and a half hours and that the interviews are transcribed word by word. The conceptions of learning for work expressed by the interviewee will be compared and related to the conceptions of others. The aim is to find qualitatively differences in the perception of the studied phenomenon. The analysis will result in descriptions of categories according to different conceptions of learning for work in a wide sense. The content of and the relation between those categories is a result of the empirical study. The result will then be related and discussed according to existing theories of working life learning.

To transcribe an interview from spoken language to written language is not merely a hard times work. It's also very difficult, because it's easy to loose the complementary information which only occur when you are physicly present in the interview situation. To avoid this loss of information I have performed the interviews personally. Directly after the interview I write down notes about the kind of information which you can't tape. That is for example, signs of nervosity shown by the interviewee, things which were showed to me and reffered to during the interview and how I intuitively found the quality of the interview. Everything you hear on the tape is transcribed; Coughs, laughs, sighs, pauses, silence and accentuations. Some other signs are also used to help the trancription to imitate the spoken language. When the tapes are transcribed I listen to them at the same time as reading the text which gives a personal touch to the written language when you later on only read the text. Tapelistening is repeated during the analysis when needed.

The interview method

An underlaying assumption is that the respondent interprets all questions that are directed to him. That means that all that the interviewer says in the interview situation is affecting the result of the research. Therefore the interviewer should be as careful as possible when putting the questions and be specially well prepared with regards taken to the introductory questions. As a help I use a questionnaire which is divided into areas which there should be some statements about when the interview is finished. Every area has an introductory question, which is expressed as open as possible and is followed by more specific follow-up questions. The most perfect situation occur when I don't need to put any questions at all. Instead you try to use the respondents own expressions and words to come further and deeper in the specific topic.

Learning is the central theme in this study and everything in the interview has a connection to it. But it is the respondents way to perceive this learning and the contexts surrounding it which will lead the interview into a certain direction. Although I try to gather the same type of information from all the interviewees, the focus will vary depending on the respondents way of emphazising different subjects during the interview.

The interview starts with an open question concerning the present situation; "Can you please tell me about your job?"

This question may lead into very different types of stories or statements which is preferable to follow up either immeditely or later, depending on the situation. What I try to do in this early part of the interview, is to get an idea of what the present work is all about and let the interviewee relate it to former employment and the profession as such.

After that I turn to questions about what kind of skills and knowledge which is perceived necessary and why, related to the assignment and the profession. Next step is the question; "How did you learn what you need, in terms of skills and knowledge?" The interviewee has a possibility to reflect what have been and are important sources for learning. After that I ask more explicitly if formal education have had any impact and what he/she has gained from personell education and other courses.

Self-directed learning is often involved in this part. If not, I use to start the discussion about self-directed learning after the following introductory question; "Do you sometimes use your leisuretime for things related to your work?" This question is often a fruitful starting point leading to an discussion about two things. One is self-directed learning activities; what, when, how, purpose? I try to make the discussion concerned about not only the present situation but also former activities when the employment was new or when changes in assignment and/or in the organisation have occured. The second subject is the relation between workinghours and other parts of life. Are they interrelated or two seperate parts of life? How important is work in the individual perspective?

I also want a discussion about how the respondent gets on, in a common meaning, in the organisation. Does he/she likes the people he has to cooperate with? What does he/she think about the spirit in the organisation? How does this perceived spirit affect learning and development? Here I also include question about further career plans.

Other subjects which are discussed in the interview concerns the working situation in terms of freedom to choose task and time. Does the respondent perceive any demands from management, respondent her/himself, costumers, colleagues or others.

Finally, there must be said something about the managements view and handling in different situations. Does the interviewee have any knowledge about the managements standpoint what regards personell development in common?

How does the interviewee think that personal knowledge and skills is used in the organisation?

Final words

The study is right now at the end of the data collection part. This means that the analysisphase is starting and that results from the project will be presented in later papers and reports.

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HOW TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN EDUCATION, WORK AND LIFE HISTORY?

Adult education, careers guidance and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands

Introduction

The main reason for the explosive growth of adult education during the 70's, was the intention to offer those who were dropped out of the educational system a second chance in order to diminish social inequalities. During the 80's and 90's, however, the continuing expansion of adult education is serving these equality targets to a much lesser degree. Economic goals are more important now. However, attention remains focussed upon 'groups in disadvantaged situations'. Especially these groups have to participate in adult education to a greater extent, in order to realise the self-evident economic goals. In appears to be difficult to make these groups take an interest in education. Therefore, these groups are easily referred to as 'hard to reach'. Which are these hard to reach groups? In Western Europe, they are more and more synonymous with immigrants. About one-third of the entire immigrant working population in the Netherlands is unemployed. Unemployment among immigrants of Turkish and Moroccan origin even outreaches this figure considerably (Veenman 1991). Lower levels in labour participation among immigrants is partly due to leeways brought about in education. Their participation in education is far below average, they more often fail to attain higher forms of education, they more often leave school prematurely, and - lastly - they more often choose a type of education with poorer perspectives on the labour market (Hüpscher-Post 1990, Roelandt & Veenman 1990, Bock & Hövels 1991). Lower levels in labour participation are also partly the result of discrimination that exists in the labour market (Hooghiemstra et al. 1990). Educational leeways together with discrimination results in an almost inaccessible barrier that prohibits the immigrants' integration in Dutch society.

The trajectory approach

For many years the Dutch government has tried to remove this barrier. Recently, its policy is directed mainly at improving the immigrants level of qualification by means of education and training. Politicians, as well as the social partners, consider education (i.e. acquiring a starting qualification) to be essential in order to get a job (Sociale Vernieuwing 1990:3) In the educational system, as well as within the Labour Exchange system, pleas are made for the development of training trajectories, in which much attention is paid to motivation, activation and orientation of the students.

The development of training trajectories, often called the trajectory approach, contains an integrated cooperation between experts from different organisations (among them education, community work and labour exchange). A network is established explicitly in order to guide unemployed people to a job. The entire trajectory is divided into three stages.

The introductory stage not only focuses upon carefully informing the students, but it focuses most carefully and conscientiously on their social setting as well. "A credible (training - FM) trajectory is only to be marked out on the basis of a realistic assessment of both obstacles and opportunities", according to Kraayvanger and Van Onna (990: 27) in their study on best practice projects. It is to be avoided that students feel they are not taken very seriously, because the intaker focuses on information about the project entirely. Desires and needs of the students are not to be subordinated to a previously fixed 'project logic'.

Common features in the second phase within all best practice projects studied by Kraayvanger and Van Onna, are a maximum guarantee of work, flexibility in educational trajectories, affiliation with clearly defined target groups which is realised by adjustment of intake and curriculum, and the prevention of drop-out by all possible means. The courses offered in the second stage, also called the main trajectory, all are developed experimentally within the projects since existing courses - if any - are not made specifically for marginalised groups. In other words, educational institutes have to work in an innovative manner in order to realise adequate courses. In daily practice, however, the possibilities to do so seem to be limited. Furthermore, in the second stage of the trajectory much attention must be paid to guiding practical experience in a firm or another institute and to the continuous maintenance of motivation by the evaluation of the student's performances, as well.

The third stage, finally, focuses on the actual entrance into the labour market. In this stage, the institution that is responsible for (re)training coaches the students in finding a job and guides them in their job for six months. The pivot on which everything in this stage of trajectory turns, is the personal and intensive approach of both employers and students which creates mutual confidence. According to Kraayvanger and Van Onna, the third stage is considered to be the weakest link in the chain.

How to motivate students?

It is not as yet clear, how immigrant youngsters and adolescents are to be motivated and/or activated properly. The practice of projects which employ the trajectory approach, and many similar projects as well, show evidence of the fact that the main problem with respect to students from ethnic minorities is their lack of a work identity (Vlaming 1991, RASP 1991, Bom 1989, Eising a.o. 1990 and Van Leeuwaarde 1991). Most immigrant participants are unable to formulate independently a plan of action that will lead to paid job. They are unable to do so, because of the broken connection between their own occupational orientation (i.e. their vocational wish), the training they get offered, and their actual opportunities in the labour market. Unemployed immigrants realise they are underqualified (and most unemployed indigenous, too). At the same time, however, their experience has taught them that investing in education frankly does not increase their opportunities. Investment means that they will enter the labour market later still and that, therefore, they will be more unattractive to many employers. Furthermore, in many cases they have experienced the discriminating attitudes of employers. And, lastly, they know that the kind of job they can get, is low skilled or un-skilled, work for which de facto few qualifications are required. Therefore, within the educational setting they soon experience a gap between 'theory' and 'practice'.

Thus, it is not until a meaningful connection between job orientation, the educational provision and the labour market has been restored, that students will be able and motivated to follow courses. They have to be enabled to develop their own 'plan of action', which is - by the way -

also a condition for independence or self efficacy demanded by both politicians and employers.

Until now, however, no sufficiently elaborated methodologies are at hand, which are based upon theoretical concepts validated by research. As a result, in most projects the method of trial and error is common practice, determined above all by financial resources. On the other hand, a self-evident conceptual frame is used in many cases, which resembles economic benefit-theories. In other words, the labour perspective of those participating in trajectories is supposed to be determined mainly by the structure of job opportunities and the level of wages. This means that a goal/means-rationality is postulated.

In theories of vocational choice and/or the development of a career this rationality is elaborated further. The individual is supposed to be aware of the need to choose as early as possible. Therefore, he will gather information and will make plans in which reality aspects - like talents, the opportunity to satisfy important personal needs and plans for the future - will be met. This exploration is, furthermore, supposed to strive for internal consistency and to converge into a few possibilities to choose from (Brown a.o. 1990).

Empirical research into the process of vocational choice - which was hardly ever undertaken among immigrants - doesn't support the goal/means-rationality. This rationality is only to some degree found among indigenous middle class (Verijdt & Diederen 1987: 11). As far as the lower social classes are concerned, other factors such as the level and kind of education, and duration of unemployment appear largely to determine the actual career people realise. These parameters do not exercise their influence - such as the goal/means-rationality supposes - in a directive, but rather in a limiting way (Bullens 1987: 30ff). In other words, individuals from the lower social classes often have to leave their original vocational wish since it appears to be unfeasible.

Their poor position in the labour market forces low educated young adults not only to compromise; they must make the choice of how long they want to qualify themselves by means of formal education. The economic benefit theories predict that individuals will continue their investment in education until they got sufficiently qualified to get the job they want (Schultz 1961: Thurow 1979). The available research into educational investment strategies among young adults, however, does not provide evidence of this. Recently, Friebel et al. have shown that young adults are guided both by traditional role expectations combined with opportunities showing up by accident (Projektgruppe Weiterbildung 1990). As long as young adults see themselves as youngsters, they are willing to prolong their stay in education. As soon as they consider themselves as adults, this willingness decreases very rapidly. From that moment on they demand a paid job in order to lead and adult's life (i.e. establishing a household of their own and raise a family in due time).

Taken the literature together the conclusion emerges that young adults are to a much lesser extent guided by a goal/means-rationality aiming at the maximalisation of benefit, than supposed in most training projects and, after all, in policy as well.

Careers guidance for immigrants: the practice

An often uttered complaint in both education and the labour exchange is that immigrants often have a vocational preference that is far less realistic compared to the wishes of indigenous population. Although explanations diverge, conclusions are identical: immigrants suffer from huge deficits with respect to information about (their position in) the educational system and the labour market (Meijers 1991). Therefore, it is not surprising that as far as the topic 'immigrants and careers guidance' is concerned, most attention and energy is given to the development of material that can be used for vocational and educational guidance. Most of the information provided, however, does not aim at a deliberate intervention in the way immigrant groups communicate about educational and vocational choices. On the contrary, the information material that is developed for immigrants only tries to facilitate the transfer of knowledge that is already offered to the indigenous. In reference to the expert interviews she made. Gosselink states: "It appears to be very difficult to get any profound information (from the information officers, FM) about the contents of the guidance during the interview. It is my impression that guidance is fixed largely upon offering information about education and jobs, and that it aims less on offering an insight into one's interests and talents and on the attuning of these interests to the objective possibilities in the educational and labour market. Anyway, systematical thinking about these categories is hardly done." (Gosselink 1989: 42).

On the other hand, there is an awareness of the fact that the dominant information culture does not meet the needs of minorities. Heymann concludes that "the average client of the information culture (is) an individual with a clear insight into his needs, used to make decisions independently. The current practice of guidance implicitly supposes this kind of client. At the same time, this implies that guidance is a process in which rational and cognitive tendencies prevail. We may say that within practice there is a kind of self-evident tendency of aiming at the 'casy' and ignoring the 'difficult' client" (Heymann 1989: 294; see also Muskens & Van Oorschot 1985: 44).

The information material and the guidance methods that have been developed for immigrants in the last few years, manifest a clear notion that immigrants are difficult clients (Onwikkelgroep Voorlichting 1990, Centrum Buitenlanders Gelderland 1991, Janssen & Haafkes 1992). This notion, however, is elaborated mainly (a) into a description of the supposed 'home culture' of the different immigrant groups, and (b) into a description of the various communicative skills the counsellor must posses in order to 'reach' his or her clients. Tuning in to the immigrant groups is conceived mainly in terms of intercultural communication. That is to say, in the actual guidance great value is attached to shallow differences in both style of argument and in communication codes between indigenous and immigrant groups (for example the wide spread believe that all immigrant fathers are authoritarian because they are the head of the family).

A vision on the content of the process of educational and vocational choice, however, is not present. The only theoretical model to lean on is the earlier described model of goal/means-rationality that, in a self-evident way, forms the basis of the current information culture as described by Heymann.

Adult educators and careers guidance

Some time ago I did research in which fifty adult educators were interviewed about the practice of careers guidance in adult education (Meijers 1991). When asked about this subject all respondents admitted the failure of the current approach. They were convinced that most immigrant students and especially their parents need (at least partly) different and additional information than do indigenous students (and their parents). But they did not know which information, nor did they know how to pass on this information in a systematic and methodic way. In a recent longitudinal study into the meaning which Turkish, Surinam and Moroccan adolescents and their parents attach to paid labour, the fear of the adult educators turned out to be true (Meijers a.o. 1993). Parents felt that their concern for (the future of) their children was not being taken seriously by the various professions who give careers guidance. They also were of the opinion that the information and guidance on offer, had no positive effect on their competence to support their children in their transition to either further education or the labour market. Only a small minority of immigrant adolescents pointed out that the information and guidance they received, actually had helped them to make an educational or vocational choice. The majority, however, found that the information and guidance on offer had been of little or even no use to them.

At this point two questions arise:

a. How to explain the dominance of the traditional information in adult education?

b. What kind of different and/or supplemental information do immigrant students need?

Why a traditional approach?

There seems to be two reasons why careers counsellors (who are most of the time teachers) limit themselves to an approach based on the traditional information culture. Firstly, the fear of direct contact with members of minority cultures, and secondly the preoccupation with 'white middle class values' within the psychology concerning vocational choice, which is hardly questioned.

Fear

The fear of individuals from immigrant groups takes several forms (Meijers 1993). First, there is the fear - often found among professionals - of listening to the clients. One of the interviewed adult educators expresses this fear as follows: "What also seems to be important, though many people seem to be afraid of... I think, we should be more fully alive to what immigrants themselves have to say. To what they experience as bottle-necks, and to what they consider their wishes and problems. This does not mean that these wishes and needs can always be met. That's impossible and that is just the reason why people don't listen. It means that, in the phase of planning, there will be listened more seriously to what is going on among immigrants and that this will be taken as well as an outset in the process of how to find solutions."

Secondly, there is a fear of discrimination and stigmatisation. Responding to the question if, in order to perform individual guidance properly, the teacher should be well acquainted with the world of immigrant adolescents and their parents, one of the interviewees stated: "I have chosen deliberately not to develop material on this topic, because I do fear that, if the lifeworld of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents is put on paper, it would be regarded as facts and figures - and not as something in motion and therefore not necessarily applying to every adolescent".

Apart from that, the fear of discriminating has two facts: not only the fear to discriminate immigrants, but the fear that 'special attention' to immigrant adolescents and their parents might result in disadvantaging specific groups of indigenous adolescents, too. As one of the adult educators puts it: "A lot of people in the field are not really convinced of the necessity of a special approach. There is a lot of conservatism over there. Many of them are practising a kind of 'ideology of neutralism'. Out of a sincere sense of justice, they think everyone should be treated equally".

Thirdly, there is the fear of direct contact with immigrants themselves. "That is, why there is that cry for folders, preferably translated. So that they can withdraw quickly and without a scratch from a precarious situation. Therefore, we emphasize expert knowledge as to interethnic communication. At present, many adult educators suffer - in a manner of speaking - sleepless nights when they have to make house-visits or have to organise an information meeting at school where immigrant parents will be present".

The fear of direct communication is, by the way, often connected with the fear of discriminating. "You must be aware that differences do exist and that you must be fully alive to this, when you want to find out something. Of course, you must do this with the indigenous too. But in that case it can be done less intensively, since you share a large frame of reference. Therefore, the risk of escalation in a case of misunderstanding is reduced and opportunities for adjustment increase. (...) Adult educators sorely need knowledge about which jobs are acceptable for immigrants, preferably the reason why included. I am shy of formulating fixed answers for I am afraid these will be used in a negative way. There is such a need to know what Moroccans really want that, when you say 'This is what Moroccans want', everything else you want to say is ignored from the start".

It seems that we are dealing with a situation where a lack of methods that enable adult educators to intervene in processes of educational and vocational choice, provoke feelings of powerlessnes among those responsible for information and guidance. In their opinion, they are sent out into the field not properly prepared and left alone. This powerlessnes brings about the kind of fear mentioned above. In order to reduce this fear, the adult educator defines his/her task strictly into a merely informative one (thus avoiding a commitment to the actual choice-process). Where actual contact with immigrant adolescents and their parents still exists, fear is reduced by gathering so much 'previous knowledge' about the communication habits of the interlocutors that they feel able to pass their own informative message effectively.

Vocational choice, choice maturity and standard biography

This clinging to a mere informative role is brought about by - in addition to fear e.g. fear avoiding behaviour - the prevailing theoretical approach regarding the process of vocational choice. This approach is based upon a segmentation of the life course, in sociological literature known as the standard biography (Bilden 1980, Krüger 1993). This concept of the life course, that originates from the life philosophy of the indigenous middle class, postulates that young people must overstep four thresholds in order to reach the status of adulthood.

Firstly, they must finish formal education. Secondly, they must find both a partner and a job in order to start - finally - their own household. Once they are adult, men mostly act as breadwinners whereas women become housewives and mothers. Not until their children have reached and older age, some women reenter in the labour market.

The standard biography offers both a clear perspective and a strategy for action, not only to young adults and their parents, but also to those who are concerned with young people professionally. For it clarifies role performances in every phase of life as well as role expectations to other people. First of all there is school and education, where skills - necessary to get a job - are acquired. In this phase, more or less the phase of childhood and youth, one is foremost a pupil, a student; not only in one's own but in the view of others, too.

After this phase, one is supposed to enter into the labour market and, later on, the market of serious relations. One becomes a young adult, supposed to lay the foundations of one's own household in both material and emotional respects. When these foundations become visible (one has saved for the trousseau, the house can be furnished, and a stable and affectionate relationship does exist) one's own household is to be effectively started and one can be called an adult with reason.

In the 1950s and 1960s, social sciences developed several models of the life course as a counterpart of the standard biography, inspired by developmental psychology mostly (Erikson 1971, Cambell & Heffernan 1983). The theoretical basis of these models is formed by the - a priori postulated - internal 'growth towards adulthood'. This growth, in its turn, is measured by the extent to which the individual succeeds to adapt himself to the demands (or role expectations) of society in a (self)conscious manner. Or, in the words of Bosma: "The individuation (the development towards an autonomous and independent personality, also known as identity-formation) depends on the balance between 'being autonomous' (authenticity and individuality) and 'commitment' (belonging to a group, being recognised and respected by others)." (Bosma 1992: 506) From this perspective the concept of 'choice' becomes the central concept. The theory about identity statuses of Marcia, one of the most influential developmental psychologists in the 60s and 70s, is a good example of this (Marcia 1966). According to Marcia, adolescents are confronted with an identity crisis. This crisis appears to be identical to the so-called 'orientation problems' that every individual is supposed to meet when growing into society, as described by the sociologist Parsons (Parsons 1970). Adolescents cope with their orientation problems by making a number of future-oriented choices in different domains (among these the domain of labour). These choices, however, are to be made consciously: the first requirement for acquiring the status of full-grown personality ('identity achievement'), is the individual's ability to reflect on himself and his social environment and to have, as a result of that, good reasons for the choices made.

Aside it can be said that the model of identity statuses is not a theory of individual development, though it is often treated as such in both developmental psychology and careers psychology. Meeus is completely right, when he argues that the concept of identity status refers to "psychological principles of individual development in combination with a domain-specific validity of those principals. (...) In many cultures and in many social settings as well only a limited number of options with respect to occupation and private life exist. Therefore, there is no need to explore all options. The principle of the well-argued choice has in this situation no validity" (Meeus 1991: 99). The maturity with respect to vocational choice therefore is a derivate not only of the development of the personality but also of the social-cultural context in which this development takes place.

In the daily practice of careers guidance, however, 'adulthood' is conceived to be similar to 'maturity to make well-argued choices' with respect to the future. And the growth towards adulthood, thus, becomes the process of growth towards this maturity. As a result, the ultimate goal of careers guidance is the advancing of this maturity by 'widening horizons' (i.e. broadening and deepening occupational knowledge) and by 'enlightenment of self-concept' (Spijkerman 1992, Taborsky & De Grauw 1974). Fostering 'choice maturity' is conceived in terms almost similar to the terms in which the learning process in school is interpreted. It is taken for granted that the individual (a) is able to achieve self-knowledge, providing that the right information is given in the right sequence, and that the individual is (b) willing to adjust his actual behaviour to this newly acquired knowledge (reducing cognitive dissonance). Now the circle is completed: if a 'full-grown identity' is conceived to be identical with the ability of making well-argued choices, it is only logical to treat the process of vocational choice as a process of collecting and processing proper information.

What information do immigrant students need?

In order to make clear what kind of information immigrant students (and their parents) need when they are confronted with the problem of making proper choices with respect to education and labour, it is necessary to deal with the nature of the process of vocational choice first. The most elaborated theory in this field is Gottfredson's (1981). Her central thesis is that career choice is in essence a process in which the development of a self-concept involves a continuous elimination of career opportunities. Before the age of ten the self-concept is fully developed as far as the sex role is concerned. This means that individuals eliminate all those occupations and/or career opportunities that are not in harmony with their image of a man or woman. It is obvious that this image is not created within a vacuum. It is the product of a sex-role socialisation which generates different images in the various social classes.

About the age of twelve a 'social class identity' is added to the self-concept. One's self-experience is no longer coloured only by the sexual image of oneself, but also by the image of oneself as a member of a social class in relation with professional status. As a result, all career opportunities that have a low status, demand too much effort or investment (often in terms of educational participation), according to the standards that apply in the specific social environment, are eliminated. Thus, as a result of primary socialisation processes, a 'zone of acceptable alternatives' has developed when pupils start secondary education. Occupations within this zone are acceptable to the individual as far as the level of occupational status, sextype and necessary (educational) investment are concerned.

After the age of fourteen the 'unique self' develops, a process in which strictly personal preferences and evaluations come to play a role. In this process one can distinguish several aspects: "a) the recognition of more internally based and abstract concepts of self (i.e. of personality) and the drive for internal direction and coherence, b) the evolution of preferences in relation to the newly developing concepts of self, and c) the synthesis or integration of preferences according to a life plan" (Gottfredson 1981, 566). When at this stage the individual more and more consciously explores the acceptable alternatives, again a large number of occupations or career opportunities are eliminated. However, the elimination nearly always remains within the zone boundaries of one's own social class.

The elimination process, begun in childhood, ends with a number of compromises when the individual enters the labour market, either because the 'ideal job' cannot be found or because the ideas about the 'ideal job' do not tally with reality. "The typical pattern of compromise will be that vocational interests are sacrificed first, job level second, and sextype last, because the latter are more central aspects of self-concept and are more obvious cues to one's social identity" (Gottfredson 1981, 549).

A too static self-concept?

Empirical research has many times shown the existence of the 'zone of occupational alternatives' suggested by Gottfredson (Super 1990; Brown 1990). Her assumption of an irreversible impact of sex-role socialisation, however, seems to be less strong for girls than it is for boys. It is true that girls acquire a gender identity at an early age (often before the age of 5), but that does not imply - as Gottfredson suggests - that their sex-role identity is fixed as well. Moreover, empirical research has shown no evidence of the pattern of compromise postulated by Gottfredson. With regard to the sex-role type of the desired occupation, individuals (men and women) do not wait to make compromises until the last moment. They compromise according to their subjective assessment of the situation and their occupational opportunities in that situation (Hesketh & McLachlan 1991).

One important point of criticism relating to current thinking about gender specific socialisation seems relevant here. It is questionable whether the socialisation model does not over-emphasize the development of a fixed and relatively stable gender identity which further determines the course of life. This criticism is not confined to the static character of the role concept used in many socialisation theories (Wrong 1961: Outshoorn 1978). The assumption that an established gender identity already exists in puberty is questionable too (Hagemann-White 1984: Van Drenth 1987). Bee points out that the development of a stable self-concept does not start until adolescence (Bee 1975). 'Femininity' is still ambivalent and uncertain during puberty and adolescence and thus it has to be actively acquired, a process in which, among other things, fantasy plays an important role. Research among high school students, moreover, shows that the ideas about femininity that girls negotiate among themselves and try out for themselves, are defined by a vague concept of the 'ideal girl' (De Waal 1989). The pattern of abilities and skills that girls ought to develop in order to shape their lives - for instance, in a career - is not quite fixed. This does not only apply to the girls themselves, but also to significant others, such as their parents and teachers.

Developing a sex-role identity seems to be a more complicated process for girls than it is for boys. According to Coleman and Hendry there are three reasons for this: "First, sex roles are usually less clear for girls than they are for boys; second, in many circumstances higher status is accorded to masculine roles, so girls may face confusion, as to which is more preferable; and third, women's position in society is at present passing through a period of rapid change, making it even more difficult for girls to make personal choices in line with what is or is not expected from them." (Coleman & Hendry 1990: 91).

There seems to be only one conclusion: the zone of acceptable occupational alternatives (and with this the gradually developing self-concept) is not static, but goes on evolving, depending on the opportunities offered by the environment. We will return to this later on.

Cultural differences in the zone of acceptable alternatives

It is clear that the zone of acceptable occupational alternatives, although not completely determined by primary socialisation, is greatly influenced by it. Since most immigrant's parents have been raised in pre-industrial societies, they do not pass on values and norms adequate to (post)industrial societies as far as acceptable occupational esteem, acceptable sex role and acceptable educational investment is concerned:

(a) with respect to occupational esteem, parental values and norms are focussed upon the gap between blue and white collar work, a gap rather absolute in pre-industrial societies;

(b) as to sex role: also on this point there are strictly defined and abrupt boundaries in pre-industrial societies;

(c) as to acceptable educational investments; in pre-industrial societies classbound education prevails. Here 'joining' is more important than 'achieve', which means that the admittance to a specific kind of education is usually and admission ticket to a specific social class - regardless of school performance.

Therefore, a careers guidance adjusted to immigrants will have, *firstly,* to explain explicitly the importance of (vocational) education in connection to the differentiated job structure in post-industrial societies. Therefore, the 'world of labour' in the country of origin will have to be compared with the job structure in Western Europe in three ways. Firstly, with respect to the extent of differentiation in job structure; no absolute segregation between blue and white collar work exist in post-industrial societies. Secondly, with respect to the way gender functions in the labour market; no absolute segregation between jobs for men and women; even an increase of gender-neutral jobs. But also; women's jobs have little perspective either. And thirdly, with respect to the significance of school performances i.e. educational investments: Western Europe is a meritocracy society. On the basis of these comparisons the differences should be mentioned without making any value judgements.

Secondly, the question of how to acquire actually a place in the educational system and/or in the labour market must be dealt with extensively. All opportunities, but all gender- and ethnic-specific problems and obstacles as well must be discussed explicitly. All forms of discrimination - both open and hidden - must be mentioned and efforts must be made to find a way of coping with them in a constructive way.

Thirdly, a widening of the occupational scope will have to be pursued. In doing this, the offering of new information must not have priority, but the necessity of changing perspectives among both students and their parents. A change of perspective that enables the individual to re-value his wishes and needs and therefore, enables him to reconsider his present vocational preferences.

Further consequences for careers guidance

Careers guidance should not aim at enabling the student to make ' the best choice'. It rather should favour the student's empowerment: not the fish but learning hot to fish must be the target. Students have to learn (a) to construct their own identity, (b) to define the direction of their life course, and (c) to make plans for a career and then manage themselves in this direction (Janssen a.o.1993). In the case of immigrant students this means that they should not only have information about the structure and functioning of a (post)industrial society and its labour market, but they have to develop a 'labour identity' as well in order to be able to act adequately.

As long as the social context in general is coherent (as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s) the individual may perceive himself as one, integrated personality. From the moment cultural pluriformity starts to dominate society as a result of increasing multi-culturality and individuality, however, socialising forces become no longer uniform, and the individual is no longer understandable as a coherent and fixed person(ality). It is rather to be known - and know oneself - as a set of 'sub-identities' (Luken 1990) or as a 'polyphonic novel' (Hermans 1993).

Careers guidance will have to enable immigrant students to develop a theory about themselves that actually helps them to make decisions or choices. Such a theory can only be developed when the of the self and experiences with reality are connected to each other. Changing the self-concept is only possible, according to Taborsky (1987: 14), "if confronting experiences are encountered vis-a-vis real people, who are capable to provoke the already formed self-concept emotionally". In this respect, Luken mentions the student's competence to find his own 'internal compass' (Luken 1984: 55; see also Luken 1990). Such can be done by autobiographic methods (having the students tell the story of their life), by analysing memories, by guided phantasy and by pointing out the relevant life themes. The individual's competence to act is the outcome of a dialogue. In an optimal process of choosing there must be space for two kinds of dialogue: an internal one (between different ego-positions) and an external one (between the individual and the relevant others). This means that two kinds of interventions can be discerned: "firstly, helping (the student, FM) to analyse the alternatives clearly, to order them, and to get a rational grip on the situation; and, secondly, helping him to acquire self-confidence and to enable him to get connected with his individual powers which motivate him positively." (Taborsky 1992: 16).

To conclude: immigrant students and their parents (but not only them!) will have to be enabled to enter into both an internal and an external dialogue. In this way the identity status-model of Marcia still maintains its normative power. Such a dialogue, however, is not the outcome of the autonomous development of the personality. The social-cultural context in which the individual has to live, plays an important role here. This context has to be thematised explicitly to set the internal and external dialogue in motion, especially as far as immigrant students are concerned. Therefore, the student's cultural frames of reference should be taken as a starting point for the careers guidance. Next, a comparison with the structures of meaning, that form the self-evident ideological basis of (post)industrial societies, will be the start of both dialogues.

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